

# 可以并经验的第三人称单数 经收益的

Vol. 135 No. 2 Week ending July 13, 1986

#### Howe snubbed

EVERYBODY whom is important for Sir Geoffrey Howe to see in South Africa has refused to see him. The British Foreign Secretary was told by President P. W. Botha that he was too busy to see him this week— though he may find time later in the month. Bishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak said Bishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak said they would refuse to meet him and Winnie Mandela said her imprisoned husband Nelson would not meet him either. Sir Geoffrey went instead to Zambia and Zimbabwe to confer with President Kaunda and Mr Mugabe about the South African crisis. The Church of England's General Synod, meeting in York voted overwholmingly to urge the British government to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. At the beginning of the debate a message was read from Bishop Tutu. "Please, please stand by us," it said. "We are moving daily further into repression. We are going back into the dark ages." (Report, page 4)



"WE HAVE TO HANG ON TO CHANGE ITS DIRECTION"

#### Le Monde

France and New Zealand have agreed that the French secret service officers at present serving ten-year sentences in New Zealand for their part in blowing up the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior shall be transferred to the French island of Hao in French Polynesia for three years' "confinement". The release of Major Alain Mafart and Captain

Dominique Prieur is part of a deal arranged by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, under which New Zealand gets a French apology, nearly \$5 millions in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports to the EEC. Below we give a personal French view of the affair by Le

## The end of the affair?

SO THE PROCEDURE adopted with the choice of Perez de Cuellar as mediator has worked. The UN Secretary-General sent to the French and New Zealand leaders his proposals for settling the dispute over the Rainbow Warrior incident. Since the two capitals had announced beforehand they would abide by the mediator's directives, we can look forward to seeing a rapid change in the situation of the two French officers who have been held in New Zealand for

France and New Zealand had each sent a memorandum to the mediator in which they defined the minimum they were prepared to accept. The "verdict" is in a way a synthesis of the two texts.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has not forgotten that he has to face an election in 1987, perhaps before, and that his conservative opponents will not fail to use against him his boast of a few months ago that Dominique Prieur and Alain Mafart would serve out their full terms in New Zealand.

It is the endless customs pinpricks employed by France against certain New Zealand goods (in particular, wool and sheep's brains) and the suspension of NZ lamb imports by New Caledonia which helped to change the impetuous David Lange's mind. All the more so, as France had another economic are up its sleeve— the renewal at the end of July of the butter agreement between New Zeeland and the EEC.

Lange was able to gauge French determi-nation during his tour of several European countries, most of the people he spoke to — except Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher which was the only way. Lange could

gracefully go back on his hardline declara-tions. Perez de Cuellar's personality helped in having the agreement worked out very

What did Lange want in exchange for the early release of Prieur and Mafart? First, an apology from France, compensation and the normalisation of trade relations. The French Government wanted to get it

over with before the question of New Zealand butter came up for a vote in the EEC. An agreement between Paris and Wellington does not, however, mean that French-New Zealand relations have been completely normalised. Wellington has made no secret of its intention to continue its struggle to make the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, which means putting a stop to the Moruroa nuclear tests. Then again, the New Zealanders have already criticised the Chirac government decision to halt the reforms in New Caledonia and have pointed out that they are in favour of this French possession becoming

In short, France's image is not about to improve in the Pacific, where it is increasingly seen as an arrogant power, insensitive, and ignoring the realities. Perhaps, all the same, the Rainbow Warrior incident will have brought home to French leaders that New Zealand is not inhabited by Britons, but provincial puritans, rural folk who are as confident of their rights as they are unahakable on their ethics. are unshakable on their ethics.

(Report, page 6)

INSIDE

# Nakasone and the rise in Japanese firepower

concede that the Liberal Democratic Party's victory in the Japanese elections was a stunning personal triumph for Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. (Report, page 6). He called the elections (unusually, for both upper and lower houses) against the advice of party collections. of party colleagues, at a time when the appreciating yen was blunting the country's competitiveness and barely two months since commentators were writing him off after a poor personal showing at the Tokyo

Economic Summit.
But instead of political hara-kirl, Mr Nakasone emerged with a landslide, winning over 300 seats in the important Lower House of Parliament, converting a threadbare majority (courtesy of other parties) into an absolute majority. This compares with 271 needed to control all standing committees, which was reckoned to be the minimum needed to avoid political oblivion. But, curiously, Mr Nakasone suffered the humiliation of finishing second behind former Prime Minister Fukuda — his arch LDP faction rival who had opposed an election - in their own multiseat constituency

Whatever face he has lost locally has more than been made up for nationally, where he now has a popular mandate which may force the LDP to bend its own rules to allow him to continue as leader for a third term. That is what the election is really all about, despite inscrutable disclaimers. Unless the party changes the rules he will have to stand down as leuder in October.

The outcome has important consequences for the rest of the world. Mr Nakasone's

administration has been characterised increasing internationalisation abr flanked by an ominous increase in nationism at home. He has tried to open reluctant Japanese markets to West reluctant Japanese markets to West products and financial services to head protectionist pressures and to incre Japan's role on the world stage. This contrary to national instincts (to Japanese) and to the country's labyrinti distibution system. Nothing much happe until a soaring yen (helped by a declir dollar) dented the competitiveness of pan's industrial machine and started a t wave of protest from manufacturers. even this (nor the fact that the econ actually contracted in the first qua-prevented an LDP victory which the keta perversely celebrated, with the rising to a new record "high."

Mr Nakasone's ambition of greater re

nition for Japan in the world is backean assertive defence policy based on assumption that Japan must have firepower to be respected in the world. greater extent than the rivals who m replace him. Mr Nakasone (who has a cated getting rid of the "peace clause" ir constitution) is leading the Japanese sensua from the front on the issu increased military power. Of course, seen always as "defence" spending bu the momentum builds up, the distinbetween what might be used for defenattack is in danger of becoming increasi blurred. If Mr Nakasone's victory leads more militaristic nation then it will be not just for Japan, but for the rest o world.

# Two deaths in Malaysia

WITHIN Malaysia's jurisdiction the death penalty is mandatory for drug traffickers. To describe the death penalty as barbaric, medieval, and inhumane, as Australian apokesmen did on Monday may very well be accurate. In our view it is. But Malaysia is only one of many countries to practise it and almost every other has practised it within living memory (the last execution in Aus-tralia was in 1967). Therefore Malaysia cannot be singled out for criticism solely on that score. Secondly, Malaysia applies the death penalty for offences other than murder. But it is not unique in that. Indeed the death penalty is still technically on the statute book in Britain for treason (Act of 1814) and piracy (1837). Thirdly, the two wretched, victims of Malaysian law, was wretched victims of Malaysian law wers Australians, one also with British national ity. Thirty Malaysians and several others from Singapore have already been executed for drug offences, and the law must be colour-blind: surely no one who protests about the sentences on Kevin Barlow and Brian Chambers will disagree with that. These considerations do not mitigate the acute distress of the two men's families or atone for their shortened lives, but they may explain why there has been a measure of embarrassment in any protests mounted or requests for clemency made. The Prime

Minister acted, it is said, as a moth behalf of a mother. It was a good thing But her appeal could hardly have other than unavailing.
On the scale of offences,

heroin now ranks very high in condemnation: as high perhaps as blooded murder and higher than blooded because the victims are force suffering and may well die as a result. Pope this week called it "a new and subtle form of slavery, sometimes a almore fearful than that of the Negro s. He was speaking in Colombia, supplies 80 per cent of the world's co. But judicial killing must remain abh even in these circumstances, on prin grounds but also because there is a the chance of a wrongful conviction ordeal of Chambers and Barlow has two and a half years long, and ago also. In that sense they and their is have been doubly punished. But de the law's execution cannot itself be grow for elementy when, as in the United the appeal of the control of th the appeal procedures are themselve and laborious. If Malaysia fell into lin other countries by abolishing the pen would earn some congratulations. T has not done so is not ground enough to be condemned.

Jonathan Steele on ANC George Will - Avoiding another. David Irvine reports from

A Comment of the Comm

Raiph Nader on American patriotism .....

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- advised him to make a deal. It was Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers who talked Lange at themself

proposal never appeared in an election manifesto, but its existence as part of party policy satisfied those who believe that

clause four of the constitution,

which pledges Labour to "the

common ownership of the means of

production, distribution and exchange," is central to its whole

purpose.

But nationalisation is not much

of a vote-winner, so Labour has

come up with a new concept called

ed to be put to the party conference

for approval in October. The first

target for social ownership will be

British Telecom, which the

Government privatised two years ago by selling off 51 per cent of its assets to 1.7 million shareholders

in what was described as "the sale

Labour would give shareholders

a choice of cashing in their shares at the 130p which they paid for

them (they are at present worth

216p), or of exchanging them, on preferential terms, for non-voting securities which would have to be

held for a specific length of time.

This novel scheme would enable

Labour to regain control of the

industry without having to buy

The party's left wing, however,

will almost certainly see this as a

betrayal of clause four, and as

further evidence of the leadership's

readiness to renege on the party's

socialist ideology. The right may see it as another vote-loser, since BT's new investors must include

pension funds and trade unions, as

well as many first-time sharehold-

ers who are traditional Labour

THE Movement for the Ordination

of Women reacted with defiance to

a severe setback at the General

Synod of the Church of England in York over the weekend.

England failed to get the necessary

two-thirds majority in the houses

After winning simple majorities for its motion in all three houses —

bishops, clorgy and laity - the Movement for the Ordination of

Women said: "It will now be

impossible to prevent the hundreds

of parishes who want women or-

dained from inviting women priests from abroad from officiat-

But the Anglo-Catholic pressure

of clergy and laity.

supporters. A fierce debate seems poor prospect for investors.

A proposal to let women or The motion to admit women dained abroad conduct services in priests from abroad won 70 per

of the century".

"social ownership" which is expect-

# How Britain paved the way for apartheid

atanding in the media, and even on the part of some MPs, of Britain's very great share in the responsibility for the present terri-ble state of affairs in South Africa. Britain has a direct constitutional responsibility for the long and agonising process of exploitation, theft of land and property, and people of South Africa, and their deliberate exclusion from any prof-it, and their fair share of the wealth that their unremitting hard labour, under brutal oppression, has helped to create.

Paul Kruger once said that one who would create the future must not forget the past; we have conveniently forgotten our part in the crimes against humanity committed in South Africa. Compromise with the Boers and their policies towards the blacks became entrepiched in treaties and constitutions; it suited our exploitation of mineral and agricultural wealth and provided cheap labour con-trolled by crushing force. It led inexorably to segregation of all the races, to the evil system of apartheid, to white supremecy for profit and a totalitarian state that now threatens the profit it was meant to defend and the peace and prosperity of the whole of southern Africa, if not the world.

Twenty-five million black people

"often obnoxious young people" in the City and Drake, Raleigh and

men was an "odious exhibitionistic

Drake was a resourceful and

poems as well as a scholarly history. He also researched into

chemistry, if we are to believe Aubrey. Sir Philip Sidney's Arca-

dia and his sonnets are major

It is crazy to compare them with

jejune youths ripping off the world at the behest of some greedy

The grace and courage shown by

Raleigh and Sidney at their deaths

have no relevance at all to the

venality and squalor of contempo-

July 13, 1986

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Unfair to the Elizabethans

The comparison that Jane rary London. Can you imagine

McLoughlin makes between the commodities dealer giving away

Sir Philip Sidney is unjust and inaccurate (July 6). None of these of Sir Philip's death.

Drake was a resourceful and courageous leader and a skilled seaman. Sir Walter Raleigh was the author of some of our finest poems as well as a scholarly pietory. He also researched into

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

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ago. The 142 years in the British Empire, including 104 years of direct British rule, have left the blacks worse off than when we arrived. At first we repealed the more offensive of the Boer laws, but after 100 years of wars, having gained complete political control, we made the move that doomed the blacks. The Boer Republics were allowed to disenfranchise all non-

In 1910 this was entrenched in the new Union constitution, approved by the British government, despite strenuous protests by the blacks and dire warnings of disaster by eminent and knowledgeable people both here and in the Union. In 1913 the Native Land Act forced blacks off land they had owned or been tenants on for years; they were driven to squalld shanty towns in the cities, or to the barren desolate "reserves" — now the "homelands" or Bantustans.

In 1948 the Nazi sympathisers of the Broederbond swept to power in tics of the post war elections. These men.

valuable water to a dying man as Sidney did at Zutphen? Even

It is unlikely that men (and women) engaged in starving half

Although our country is now a

mere colony of the US, existing by money lending, tourism and arms peddling, we do not have to drag

past heroes down to our own degraded level. The mere mention of Drake, Raleigh and Sidney sets

off the dreary, nasty and contempt ible world that Ms McLoughlit

describes in the rest of her article.

William Rayner,

Thanks to the 'liberal con-

science" that some MPs seem to despise so much, the harrowing history of South Africa is well documented. Until the panic clampdown by P. W. Botha's in many other countries, but one government last month, the TV screens of the world showed us all the demented barbarity of the

repression in that unhappy country. Many brave people, over many, many years have risked and of the latest victims.

boing ignorant of the stark statis- remember this. tics of oppression in South Africa, and of Britain's contribution to the survival of this evil regime. We really should all be aware that 15 per cent of the population, all white, live in luxury on 87 per cent

Chernobyl ----

postscript

as their forefathers were enslaved by the first Boers to arrive in the Cape in 1652, over 300 years ago. Incompetent and disastrous interventions by a succession of British of Cape 1806 were the direct cause of this.

We are in duty bound to intervene again, this time effectively, to do put right the wrongs we have done aince we seized the Cape 180 years in the British for Empire, including 104 years of the cape 180 years of the cape 18 lasted three times longer than keep livestock or cattle. All their Hitler's Raich. attempts to form legal political parties are frustrated; the ANC who represented them since 1912 banned, and every peaceful protest

brutally smashe A state of affairs no worse than

Epsom, Surrey.

In the 1930s when Hitler started lost their lives; many people, black the persecution of the Jews in and white, have risked ruin, sav-ago beatings, torture, imprison-Britain advocated a boycott of age beatings, torture, imprison-Britsin advocated a boycott of ment, and suffered horrible deaths German consumer goods. They to put this terrible story in front of were begged to drop this idea on our eyes. George De'ath, hacked to the grounde that the "Jews would death making a TV film, was one suffer the worst". This was never f the latest victims.

Today there is no excuse for sanctions against South Africa

Zola Zembe. South African Congress of Trade Unions,

Can I add one point to your of the land, and have all the best article about the impact of sancland. That they snjoy 70 per cent of the country's income, while 85 per cent of the people, all black, crammed on to 13 per cent of the much of the sasertion that 120,000

I asked the Foreign Secretary if he could detail the industries which would suffer job losses as a result of such a policy. The Gov ernment's reply was that they could not offer any breakdown of global figures. In other words, there was no information on which industries and firms would suffer a reduction in employment. One is left with the impression, therefore, that the Government has plucked this figure out of thin air.

A policy which blocks South African imports into this country might well increase jobs here, although if it is effective, jobs will be lost in South Africa. Blocking exports to South Africa will obviously have an effect on jobs here, but the numbers of jobs affected will depend on the range of measures taken. As few people are calling for a total boycott it will be surprising if the job losses total anywhere near 120,000.

Frank Field, MP, (Lab, Birkenhead), London SW1.

Black insurrection and threats economic sanctions are clearly pushing Pretoria to adopt even more extreme anti-black mea-

One solution has not been proposed: no sanctuary to be granted to white South Africans by any country when the inevitable mass exodus is attempted.

Only native white pressure will buckle Botha

(Dr) F. Carabott.

#### How to revive the Irish body politic

Re Chernobyl: now that the dust has settled, so to speak, and America has completed its orgy of For those of us who have cam- Figure Fail's bogus republicanself-congratulatory doom-saying, a few facts should be brought to the attention of your readers.

First, the US does indeed have reactors of the exact same carbonaster for reconculation in this island, dealing a body-blow to the ideal of a republic fit for Catholic. Protestant, and dissent-Jnion. One of them is in the state of Washington, only a few hundred miles from where I live. There are

ingly dominant.

The grand coalition of Roman
Catholic and property interests in the form of the RC hierarchy and the form of the RC hierarchy and links body politic can be resuscitated. The systematic separation of the RC hierarchy and links body politic can be resuscitated. The systematic separation of Next, the Tennessee Valley Authority (which runs seven reactors) is now fully shut down, at losses of \$1 million per day, because of gross safety hazards. In the past two years, the TVA has suffered the Fianna Fail party over-whelmed Garret FitzGerald's constitutional crusade. It is absolute fatuous nonsense of Charles Haughey to assert that the result will have little significance in the

over 2,000 complaints for serious safety violations and for threats against employees for filing the context of Northern Ireland. Finally, and much more serious

for us here, all the drinking water reservoirs on the West Coast of Canada recently had to be closed due to severe radioactivity. First thoughts of origin were the USSR, but tests proved it was of the wrong type and that the cloud was at less than 10 000 feet.

The Guardian is wrong to suggest (Leader, July 6) that the events in Nicaragua pose no threat to the United States. United States only face Soviet power in Europe at less than 10 000 feet. at less than 10,000 feet.

Naturally, giving prior warning wasn't deemed to be "in the US chance of the problem being attrib-uted to the USSR.

paigned for egalitarianism, toler-ance and pluralism in Irish society, the defeat of our govern-

fundamentalism and prejudice has on the minds of people in areas of high religious observance where one denomination is overwhelmat one remove by the "mullahs' North and South.

health must be the first step on the

bal in range, dare not regard the

way. Bill Tormey, Ballymun, Dublin.

#### The menace of Managua

policy is determined principally by and whose interests and the fear that failure to control her obligations therefore are only re-After much checking, it seems the US has had difficulty not only with its space programme. The first nuclear test in Nevada of the first nuclear test in Nevada of the disconnected is relatively risk free; superpower crushing the independent of the control of th recent series "bombed," so to second, demonstrate United States dence of a desperately poor nationspeak, and in order to enter the test site to determine what went wrong the US Government waited for the right winds and vented all the underground radioactivity into the atmosphere, directly into Canada.

second, demonstrate United States dence of a desperately poor nationstrate united States and thereby provoke doubt as to the value of the United States, which must face Soviet power in every continuous the atmosphere, directly into the atmosphere, directly into the atmosphere, directly into the states and thereby provoke doubt as to the value of a desperately poor nations state that seeks only justice and freedom for her people. The United States, which must face Soviet power in every continuous transfer and obligations are therefore global paralysis. global paralysis.

Naturally, giving prior warning wasn't deemed to be "in the US national interest" and besides, the Americans had a better-than-even chance of the problem being attributed to the USSR.

L. D. Romanosky,
Brae Glen Road, Calgary.

It is this paralysis which, it is feared, provided the main opportunity for Soviet geo-political expansion in the ascond half of the Soviet power is simply too great to 1970s: the airlifting of Cuban take such a risk.

Ethiopia (1977-78); the support for Worthing, Sussex.

Vietnamese expansion into Cam-

the General Synod, Dr David

'THE Church of England was thrown into fresh doctrinal confusion on Sunday when the Bishop of Durham, in his strongest challenge to the official view of mir-

Choking with emotion in parts

resurrection?"

Such miracles "would not seem of a speech that received an to be the choice" which God would novation from the York meeting of make. "We are faced with the Jenkins said that New Testament in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation, but is prepared in the secret of His incarnation. laser beam which fuses the physical particles into a reality which is both divinely produced and divine."

resurrection and satvation, but is photos with only received patient attention they deserve patient attention and patient attention they deserve patient attention and attention they deserve patient attention attent

ordained women or agreed in principle to ordain them. Supporting the motion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, said: "We cannot have

geographical element to our

heology."
She said there were 743 Angli-

little Englanders in the matter of Women, asked people who strongly church unity."

Opposed women priests in princi-

measure would complicate rela-tions with Rome, which he argued group, Ecclesia, responded in a statement: "We now look to the reform meant only that when an diocesan bishops to ensure that the Anglican woman ordained abroad despite the ordination of numerous peace and unity of the Church of "leaves her own province and women priests.

## Bishop tilts at laser beam miracles

transformation of apartheid. Such By Walter Schwarz

a God is surely a cultic idol. Earlier, the Archbishop of Can-He asked: "What sort of God are terbury. Dr Robert Runcie, de-we portraying and believing in if fended the bishops' recent report acles, suggested that this implied a view of God that was "at best a cultic idol, and at the worst, the sais of the incarnation and the basis of the basis

birth and the empty tomb. Dr Runcic said: "We recognise honest difficulties in this delicate borderline between event and aymclaim that God is prepared to work bol, historical fact and interpreta-

plorers will only receive the Europe, inc. N. Ireland patient attention they deserve when they refuse to be lonely

# BT buy-back plan could hurt Labour

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

understandably, came to see it as a has warned that any recurrence of

England is not destroyed by the implications of the threat by the Movement for the Ordination of Standing of ordination, we intro-Women to flood England with

cent in the house of bishops, 57.4

By Waiter Schwarz

Sne said there were 743 Anglican women priests ordained abroad. Of the estimated 66 million baptised Anglicans, 50 million were members of provinces which

tendency to present views contrary to those of the Government. He has

now set up a special "bias monitor-ing unit" in Conservative Central

Office to compile evidence on which complaints to the broadcast-

ing authorities can be based.

(Labour, when in office, is equally

critical of the BBC, which suggests

doing too bad a job.)

that the corporation is perhaps not

Last summer's inner city riots in

Twickenham, London, were re-

called this week when an inquiry

headed by Lord Gifford concluded

that the worst of the trouble could

have been avoided by more sensi-

tive policing and by greater cooperation between the police and

the ethnic community on the

missioner, Sir Kenneth Newman,

"unprecedented level of savagery"

The Metropolitan Police Com-

Broadwater Farm estate.

and without alienating too many voters, so the social ownership device could also be used to reacquire enterprises such as Brit-ish Gas and British Airways if Mrs Thatcher persists in selling them. There is, for the moment, a lull

in the privatisation programme. British Airways is still not attractive enough to be sold, and the Government last week abandoned its plans to sell off the country's monopoly water undertakings. The

Nicholas Ridley, said the project had merely been postponed, but

his announcement was interpreted

as an admission either that the ill-

conceived scheme had become too

unpopular to proceed with, or that

was too complicated to put into

None of the alleged benefits or

privatisation — greater compati-tion, financial discipline, improved

choice for the consumer - are

applicable to the water industry,

and there have been growing

environmental worries about the

torn between profits and protect-

ing the countryside, monitoring effluent discharge into rivers, and

the conservation of flora and

wildlife. The prospect of charging

for water by usage (through mo-ters) would also probably lead to

reduced consumption, which would

mean that profits could only come

through increased prices. The City,

There are increasing signs that

Setback in fight for women priests

women priests from abroad."

The motion to admit women

per cent in the house of clergy and 62.6 per cent in the house of hity.

In the debate, Deaconess Diana

McClatchey, Moderator of the Movement for the Ordination of

opposed women priests in princi-ple, to abstain in the vote. Only six

proposed water companies being

AT ONE time the Labour Party's policy was to nationalise the "top hundred companies" without compensation. The companies were never actually named, and the proposal never appeared in an entropy of the point of view of the leader. Mr Neil Kinnock, however. Labour must have some policy for countering the Tories' massive sell-off of public assets without an unacceptable level of borrowing the Government is looking for a pleastic bullets, CS gas and and the general election, which doubtless explains why it proposes to take no immediate action on the unacceptable level of borrowing controversial Peacock Report on Hurd, has authorised the purchase the future of public service broad-casting. The Prime Minister still wants the BBC to have to compete for advertising revenue; still dislikes the relative independence which the corporation derives from the lighter of the purchase of 24 bullet-proof vehicles and 80 armoured personnel carriers to protect officers against the petrol bombs and gunshots which, in Tottenham, led to the murder of a constable and fatal injuries to a its licence fees; still believes it to be guilty of left-wing bias. But the BBC has friends and admirers, Liberties described press photographer.

The National Council for Civil
Liberties described this extra

His scholarly approach, to by 27 years as professor of to at Keele University, was an worldwide, so its structure is safe-

equipment as "tooling up for trou-ble" rather than avoiding conflict. guarded for the immediate future. Though Sir Kenneth is acutely aware of the social tensions in the Mrs Thatcher's dislike of the BBC is shared by her party chairarea he has to police and can hardly be blamed for taking steps to protect his force, Mr Hurd has flatly refused any inquiry that would examine the violence in the Environment Secretary, Mr man, Mr Norman Tebbitt, who regularly attacks editors, produclight of inner-city problems. ers, and sometimes journalists for A police officer who killed a fivewhat he believes is their built-in

year boy during an armed raid on a house in Birmingham was acquitted of the boy's manslaughter. A Crown Court jury concluded, in the light of overwhelming evidence, that the shooting of John Shorthouse by Constable Brian Chester, a police marksman, was a tragic accident. There were, however, demands that the police should accept corporate responsibility by compensating the boy's family, and that there should be a real overhaul of the terms under which guns are issued, carried and used by the police.

The eminently respectable civil service union, the Civil and Public Services Association, elected as its new general secretary Mr John Macreadie who, besides being a ifelong Labour Party member. admitted to being a supporter of Militant, the extreme left-wing tendency which Labour is trying to expel from its ranks. His backers were thought to have been the lower-paid civil servants who, from behind their desks in unemployment benefit offices, are increasingly unable to cope with the harsh consequences of the Govern-

#### Prof. Gemme gardeners' voi

By Martin Walnwrigh

PROFESSOR Alan Gem whose gentle Scottish voice endear the most vicious we followers of Gardeners' Qu Time on BBC radio, had died

rable foil to the more e advice of colleagues on the gramme like Bill Sowerbu Fred Loads. In the academic world h

respected as the author of Do mental Plant Anatomy, co of the first volume of Botanica and contributor papers to learned journals. I natural ability as a broad brought him a much wider

Professor Gemmell was ed at Ayr Academy and Gl University and his career research botanist, from 1936 his appointment at Keele in sity, the West of Scotland A tural College and the Midland Forensic Science

With Messrs Sowerbut Loads, he was one of the Gardeners' Question Time when the programme launched in 1950. His cou opinions on dying uspic wrongly-planted fennel an pros and cons of the mespilis ended when he ret the Isle of Arran in 198 previous year, he had been a

> Letters to the Editor are well sometimes this is necessar them in the page — short stand a better chance. Send II The Guardian Weekly. PO B

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August 3.
The likelihood is that he will be given a dusty answer, and told that Mrs Thatcher's honourable and sensible course now is to take the lead in going to the United Nations Security Council with a proposal for mandatory sanctions ngainst South Africa.

But the Foreign Secretary, having now been assured that President P. W. Botha and members of his Cabinet will agree to meet him during the last week of July, is already planning a second trip, can be persuaded to meet the this time mainly to South Africa, despite the rebuffs he has received from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

## from all sides in that country. He

is determined to persevere with his search for miracles.

He will appeal to President Kenneth Kaunda and to Mr Robert Mugabe to support his efforts to convince South Africa's anti-apartheid leaders, especially the gaoled ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, that they should agree to meet him

when he goes to South Africa. It is recognised in London that it is crucial for Sir Geoffrey to see Mr Mandela as early as possible in an effort to secure his support. Without his blessing, it is unlikely that any black leader in South Africa

#### Restrictions on Winnie Mandela lifted

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

This report was compiled subject to the emergency regulations imposed on the press by the South African Government.

ALL restrictions on Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the gaoled African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, have been lifted. For the first time in nearly a decade, she is as free as any of her

black South African compatriots. Captain Henry Beck, a spokes-man of the Ministry of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, con-firmed on Monday that Mrs Mandela was no longer restricted under South Africa's Internal Security Act.

She can now be quoted by the South African press on two conditions. Her statements must not be subversive as defined in the emergency regulations and must not be calculated to further the objects of the outlawed ANC. Those restrictions apply to all South Africans.

Captain Beck advised the media to take legal advice before quoting Mrs Mandela, a forthright woman who, in the past, repeatedly defied the ministerial decree prohibiting her from living in her Soweto home and from talking to the

The lifting of the curbs on the "mother of the nation," as Mrs Mandela's admirers have dubbed her, followed a Supreme Court ruling that it was not enough for the Minister of Law to state that he was satisfied that it was in the interests of law and order to restrict any person. He had, the court found, to state why he thought the person was a threat to public order.

Captain Beck's confirmation that Mrs Mandela is now as free as any black South African came only hours before a strong attack on her hours before a strong attack on her husband by the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corpo-ration as a "self-confessed Commu-A spokesman for Do Beers con-

nist revolutionary who . . . still believes in violence as a means of achieving political change."
The attack on Mr Mandela was

linked to the planned mission to South Africa by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Goeffrey Howe, to try to persuade the South African Government to release Mr Mandela and to unban the ANC. The SABC said that the ANC's leaders refused to consider abundoning violence and were more-over, closely tied to the Soviet Union through the South African Communist Party.

Leading South African businessmen and industrialists carlier called on the Government to release Mr Mandela. In a statement published in Johannesburg's Sunday Star newspaper, Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the giant Anglo American Mining Corporation, said; "Whether one likes the ANC or not — and I personally do not like its policy of violence nor its Marxist economic thinking - it constitutes an important factor in

the South African political set-up." He added that Mr Mandela, who is serving a life sentence after being convicted in 1964 of sabo age, "has become a myth, and believe the ANC should be challenged for what it is."

A number of other leading South African businessman supported the appeal for Mr Mandela's re-lease, including the heads of the food group. Premier Milling, the biggest sugar corporation Tongaat-Hulett, the main retail chain stores and the southern African division of BP.

More than 2,000 striking black miners last week forced the closure four De Beers diamond mines in Kimberley, in the northern Cape, as the protest by South Africa's

#### US reviewing Zimbabwe policy

failing to receive an apology for a virulent attack at a diplomatic reception in Harare on the West for its policies in South Africa, At. a reception, the Zimbabwe Sports Minister, Mr David Karimanzira. accused the Western powers of doing nothing to end apartheid because of their "massive and profitable investments" in South

The former US president, Mr Jimmy Carter, had addressed the crowd of 300 for a few minutes, saying how pleased he was to have been able to guide US foreign

At his turn to propose a teast, Mr Karimanzira, reading from a prepared speech, pointed out that the United States and Britain had in recent years imposed sanctions against many countries, including the Soviet Union, Libya, Nicaragua, Poland, Afghanistan, and Argentina, but they baulked at imposing sanctions against South

Mr Carter walked out, along with the US charge d'affaires in Zimbabwe, Mr Gibson Lanpher, and other British and Western

By Helia Pick But Mr Mandela is said to be Thatcher's view that Britain devery reluctant. His wife, Winnie, has already said that she would

Howe asks for more time

President Boths is playing hard to get. He kept the British Government waiting for most of last week pefore indicating that he was too busy for a meeting this week — he is said to be on holiday — but would be prepared to schedule one before the end of the month.

not meet the Foreign Secretary.

The ANC leaders in exile are saying they are willing to talk with Sir Geoffrey while he is in the Zambian capital. He wants to use the opportunity to urge the ANC to overcome their suspicions of British motives, and to accept Mrs

serves to be given this last chance to try and pull the South African authorities out of the quagmire of their own making.

He will ask the frontline states

and the exiled ANC leaders to reflect that Britain is now acting on behalf of the EEC, and has the support of the US Administration and effectively of all the major Western industrialised states with big economic stake in South Africa. If Pretoria will still listen to any outsider, then his voice would surely carry more weight jor concessions will produce a than Commonwealth threats of sanctions.

that the South African Government's response to his "peace mission" is likely to be slow in

The Foreign Office has also now realised that it forgot to take into account the fact that the National Party holds its annual congress on August 12, and that Mr Boths would be most unlikely to risk any concessions before that important meeting, even if he were inclined

The Foreign Secretary has to convince the Commonwealth that President Botha should be given the benefit of the doubt, at least until then. But Britain, in making the case for patience until August 12, also knows that a failure by President Botha to announce masituation where Mrs Thatcher will come under irresistible pressure to The Foreign Secretary believes opt for South Africa's economic he has no alternative but to warn and political isolation.



"Actually this is quite promising - I still have my foot in the door!"

ceded that the strike had been triggered by demands for the release of union leaders. He re-called that the chairman of the company, Mr Julian Ogilvie hompson, had warned the Minister of Law and Order last month that critical wage negotiations were pending, and that the detentions would make it impossible for the unions to represent the work-

man for the black National Union of Mineworkers said that some 8,000 miners had also staged goslows a Tree State Consolidated, which employs more than 50,000 miners. miners. In reply, the owners, Anglo-American Corporation, said that 3,000 miners were involved in that 3,000 miners were involved in a virtual strike at one shaft at Free State Geduld, a mine in a giant complex which employs 12,000 miners. The miners showed up but "were not producing much," the corporation spokesman, Mr Paul Clobbals soils

Reports of the detention of 1.000 THE United States is reviewing its policy which helped to bring about dismissed municipal workers in the black township of Tembisa are likely to aggravate existing ten-sions. The Bureau for Information declined to comment on the ground that it was prohibited from doing

so by the emergency regulations. The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was at the core of major controversy last week, after defiant speech in which he virtually invited the world to impose sanctions so that South Africa could demonstrate its will and

ability to withstand them. His speech was sharply criticised by Mr Ray Swart of the Progressive Federal Party. Mr Swart said: "He is inviting sanctions as if he has some sort of death wish. He sounds like a latter-day Ian

Charges of murder, arson and assault will be brought against 780 people detained under the state of emergency, South Africa's Bureau for Information said "When formally charged, the accused will have normal access to their legal representatives, and process of law, will take its normal course." This was the first official indication that the number detained under emergency regula-tions runs at least to hundreds.

Three groups of people had already been charged with attempted murder for trying to "necklace" people by placing a burning tyre around their necks.

The decision to prosecute the 780 detainess contrasts with the failure to charge all but a handful of those interned during the par-tial emergency between July 21 Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu

The committee said that it plans to appeal to the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and to persuade the Government to system."
broak the silence about arrests. It Blacks be published immediately upon

exploded outside a police station in Cape Town on Thursday last week. njuring a policewoman and a policeman, and bringing to 12 the number of bomb explosions since the declaration of the state of emergency. The explosions have claimed the lives of three women, two white and one Indian. Nearly 100 people have been injured, most of them white. The bombs do not appear to have soriously unnerved whites, but they have certainly brought the reality of the war home to them.

The Citizen, which was founded on money provided secretly by the now-defunct department of infor-mation, said: "The blast in central Johannesburg in which six women and two children were injured one of them a baby - is another example of the utter callousness

last year and March 7 this year. condemned the bomb attacks in According to the Detainee Parents' towns and cities, and called for Support Committee, more than 7,992 people were detained then ences. Describing the bomb attack but only about 2 per cent were as "acts of terrorism," Bishop Tutu said: "The problems of our country cannot be solved by the violence of injustice, oppression and exploitation, nor by that of those who seek Lawyers for Human Rights to try to overthrow such a repressive

urged that the names of detainees tacks were the work of Blacks suspected that the atdetention, saying that it knew of 2,600 people who had been taken into custody or reported missing.

Tutu said. He added: "There is still much goodwill left. Can't we get The bomb explosion in central Johannesburg on Tuesday last recognised as authentic leaders week was caused by a limpet mine and representatives of all our of Soviet origin. A further bomb people get together and talk?"

#### THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1986

# Government wants free market in broadcasting

radio broacasting with possible "pay-as-you-view" metering to replace the licence system received broad approval from the Govern-

However, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, made it clear that legislation based on the Peacock report into future funding of broadcasting would be shelved until after the next general elec-tion. He confirmed that ministers do not accept the proposal to weaken regulations on good taste, decency and political balance.

A member of the Peacock committee described one of its most radical proposals — hiving off BBC Radios 1 and 2 to commercial operators who could take advertis-

ing — as daft and damaging.

A few Conservative MPs were disappointed that the BBC would not be quickly made to take advertising and to cut the licence fee. However, it seemed that there was little pressure on Mr Hurd from his backbenchers, save for some ritualised criticism of the BBC's supposed anti-Tory bias.

A Cabinet committee chaired by the Prime Minister is to give detailed consideration of the report with publication of a green paper on radio broadcasting scheduled for the autumn. But the broadcasting bill to implement reform will not be presented until after the

rence of what he termed "unprec-

London riots last autumn could

mean police retaliation with plas-tic bullets, CS gas and armoured

vehicles such as those used in

The Metropolitan Police com-

Broadwater Farm, Tottenham, and Brixton, when PC Keith Blakelock and Mr David Hodge, a press photographer, were fatally injured.

Later, Mr Douglas Hurd, the

Home Secretary, announced in a Common's written reply that he had given permission for the police to buy 24 bullet proof vehicles and

80 armoured personnel carriers to protect then against gunshots and

petrol bombs which were used in

edented level of savagery"

warning last week that a recur- to succeed."

SIR Kenneth Newman gave a methods have failed or are unlikly

These truncheons — 2ft 4in long
— would be deployed, Mr Hurd
said, by police officers carrying riot
shields "only in a situation of
extreme disorder, where other

state.

He said the use of firearms
against police in Tottenham for
the first time in a riot on mainland
Britain made it imperative that
police should be prepared, with

The report, by Sir John Garick, destroy the Cartoon gamery recommends that realistic fire panelling, which was evidence in a drills are carried out. It finds that two-year fraud squad investigation

the fire was probably started by a into work done under contract by

naked flame in a grace and favour the Property Services Agency. Pa-

apartment around midnight on pers in the case have been passed March 31.

The body of Lady Gale, aged 86, to the Director of Public Prosecu-

died from carbon monoxide poisoning.

There had been previous incidents which might have caused
fires in her apartment, says the
report, which fails to say exactly
where and how the fire started.

The fire destroyed the Carton

Gale, was found in the main tions, Scotland Yard said bedroom of her apartment. She The fire was discovered

The fire destroyed the Cartoon prevented damage.

have to produce a holding position on the television licence fee before the next election. It has been pegged at £58 until the end of March, 1988, but before then the BBC will need some indication of its likely income for the following

Mr Hurd said that the commit tee's plans for a competitive mar-ket in television services "fits well with our general philosophy". But he rejected proposals to put broadcasting on a regulatory footing equal to that of the press on matters of good taste and political balance.

The next licence round begins next year, when the IBA is due to advertise franchises for independent broadcasting contracts for the eight years from 1990. Mr Hurd told MPs that although no decision had been made on the licence auction idea the IBA would be obliged to keep the option open as the franchising procedure began. The BBC and ITV welcomed the

report's conclusion that the BBC should continue to be funded by the licence fee system for the time being and should not have to take advertising. There was less enthusiasm for privatising Radios 1 and

2 to take advertising.

The director-general of the BBC.

Mr Alastair Milne, said: "It remains our policy to try to offer an effective range of programmes to eneral election.

The Government is also likely to

all sections of the public. We believe therefore that Radio 1 and

Their use could only be

authorised by an officer of at least

Commander rank, and used under

the control and direction of the

senior officer in charge at the

scene of a riot.
The Home Secretary, who wel-

comed Sir Kenneth's review, reit-

By Gareth Parry

commissioner over the use, under

the threat of extreme disorder, of plastic bullets and CS gas.

Sir Kenneth conceded at a press conference last week that the

police. had some difficulties in dealing with last autumn's riots.

These included the lack of ade-

quate radio communication and the lack of time to brief officers

Palace fire drills to be enforced

FIRE precautions at royal palaces gallery, a small part of the Wren in Sir John could not establish why are to be formally checked as a south gallery, and many works of the fire was not discovered earlier,

result of a highly critical report, art.

published last week, on the fire at Hampton Court Palace in March.

The report dismisses suggestions detective system had been unintended to the court palace in March.

The report dismisses regularity to the court palace in March.

The report offers and then discourt palace in the court palace in the co

By Susan Tirbutt

The fire was discovered after an

2 listeners have the same claim to a share of the BBC licence fee as do the listeners to Radios 3 and 4."

The ITV companies were surprised and disappointed that a prised and disappointed that a

for auction. A tendering system would lead towards concentration on "profit performance rather than programme performance,"

Professor Alastair Hetherington and Miss Judith Chalmers, the broadcaster, did not accept the committee's majority recommendation that the two most popular BBC radio channels should be hived off. They supported a rival recommendation that the BBC should be given the option of

solute be given the option of selling off the channels.

Professor Hetherington said: "It is daft because no-one has thought out what would be sold. You cannot sell Jimmy Young, even if you wanted to. It is damaging because it does break up the universality of the BBC's radio services, and it is demanded to the services, and it is damaging to the External Services."

majority on the comittee had advo-cated putting their franchises up ers with no record but plenty of recommendations only for the first of what it sees as a three-stage

process towards a free market pay-

per-programme television system

in the 21st century.

In stage one, the licence fee would be indexed to the cost of

living and the BBC would carry on

virtually as at present. In stage two, which the committee admits is speculative, the BBC would go

over to a subscription service by pay-channel "well into the 1990s".

#### By Dennis Barker and John Carvel

But the most spirited clash came within the committee at the re-port's launch in London.

franchises be auctioned to the

Police armoured force approved

should not be unnecessarily alarmed: "I think the public will understand that when the police are faced with the level of violence with guns, petrol bombs and other quite horrendous instruments that

missioner's warning came with the publication of his Public Order Review of his force's action at CS gas and plastic bullets were, he said, all weapons of "last

Water cannon are still being tested by the Home Office. But they are, so far, considered too cumbersome to use in narrow streets, where they could them-

Sir Kenneth said that apparatus which could generate a "shrill sound" to divert rioters had been abandoned as unsuitable.

last year's riots.

Seven hundred additional radios a contingency plan to deal with and 1,500 long truncheons will trouble in the Broadwater Farm estate. could not afford it.

But Sir Kenneth said that newly areas which now numbers 800 men

# A DEPOSIT ACCOUNT THAT PAYS OVER

Sir Kenneth said that the public the police need a higher level of capability."

selves become a rioter's target.

The review rejects creation of a "third force" — or riot police squad — because the force's resources

formed territorial support groups in each of London's eight police

misses various possible explana-

It treats with caution the possi-

bility that smoke detectors had

been deliberately covered with

polythene to prevent further false

alarms. Palace officials had al-ready forbidden this, after finding a detector covered in a room used

by one of the "cottage industries".

Detailed recommendations for improving the fire alarm system include putting in a memory facility to record which alarms worked

when More effective fire drills

with the fire brigade and palace

staff and more training are also recommended.

tions on how the fire started.

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The committee suggests that new television sets should be adapted to prevent programmes

being seen by anyone not paying a

subscription. It suggests a date for this not later than January 1, 1988, and envisages that the de-

Several suggestions are made on

how to make paying the licence fee more palatable. They include instalments, and exemption for

pensioners and people on supple-

the cost of the television licence by

charging at least £10 for a car radio and thinks that black and

today's prices.

mentary benefit.

In the third stage there would be white television licences should be

"pay-per-programme" subscription nearer the price of those for colour.

FILL IN THE

COUPON. THEN FILL

IN CHEQUES FROM

1992 israeli invasion.

Informed sources esid the soldiers — reported 200 in all — arrived in West Belrut from the Syrian-controlled Beke's Valley to join a small but steadity growing Syrian military presence in West Befrut, temporarily headed by General Ghazi Kansan, head of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon and reportedly including five colonels at the head of an 66-man "observer force."

NICARAGUA has expelled Bishop Pablo Vegs for what the Government described as "anti-patriotic and criminal behaviour". Bishop Vegs, vice-president of the Ricareguen Episcopal Conference, is an outspoken critic of the Sandinietas.

episcopal Conference, is an outspoken critic of the Sandinistas.

Niceregue's Catholic primate described the expulsion as "a violation of human rights", and the Pope, speaking in Columbia described it as "an simost incredible act". The Government seld Bishop Vega's support of the contras had made him an accessory to a conta landmine explosion in northern Niceregue which killed 32 civilians on board a bus. The stack happened at Bocayolto in Jinotega province, about 100 miles north-east of Manague. The victime included 12 children, 12 women and eight men.

POLICE shot two members of a Sikh extremist gang that rempeged through the Punjab, shooting dead six people and injuring two offideren.

The gunbatile came during 24 hours of violence in the north indian state, in which 13 people were killed in disturbances sperked by extremists seeking a separate Sikh reston. So far this month, 23 people have been killed in extremist violence.

Police sigo said durmen killed a reamiliar

Police slee said general kitied a paramilitary policeman in an attack on the New Daini home of Mrs Gurbinder Kaur Brar, a Sikh who leads the Congress Party in the Punjab state legislature.

MR JAGJIVAN RAM, for 40 years the standard-bearer of india's Harijan (Unlouch-sbie) community, died in New Delhi, aged 78, He was one of the lest survivors in the present Parliament of the interim government that paved the way for independence. After holding ministerial posts in several Congress administrations he joined the Opposition when Mrs Gandhi called an election in 1977. After the Januar Party victory, he was disappointed at not being chosen as the first Harijan Prime Minister, setting rejuctantly for the defence ministry and one of two deputy premierships.

THREE more generals have been appointed to the Polish Communiat Party Polithuro, They are General Jozef Baryla, who oversees social and ideological matters, General Czeslaw Klaszczk, the internal Affairs Minister, and General Fiorian Siwicki, the Defence Minister. Gorbachev seel of approval, page 12

MOZAMBIQUE has accused Malawi of help-ing South African-backed rebels logistically and materially in their streeks on Mozam-

and materially in their sitseks on Mozami-bique targets. The country's leading military figura, Col.-Gen. Sebastiso Mabote, accused South Africa of trying to divide Mozambique at the Zambezi and Save rivers.

Mozambique and other Frontiline States have made recent undisclosed and unauc-ceasful diplomatic approaches to ask Dr Benda's Government to half his sid to South African military and propaganda experts whose use of Melewi is increasing.

THE Paris police chief, Mr Guy Pougler, has resigned in a public row with the interior Minister, Mr Charles Pasqua, who accused him on television of rigging crime statistics to please the former Socialist government. His resignation is likely to cast doubt on new security measures in the capital instituted by Mr Pasqua, who has been leading a law-and-order campaign.

THE killing by Peru's armed forces of between 250 and 400 prisoners in three Lima gaols has brought the resignation of the Justice Minister, Mr Luis Gonzalez Posada. Mr Gonzalez Posada's dismissal came hours siter that of General Maximo Martinez, commander of the small Republican Guard peramilitary police force. President Carcla has accused the Republican Guard of having slaughtered more than 100 quertities. having slaughtered more than 100 guerrilla prisoners after they had surrendered at

THE Reagan Administration is getting rid of its ambassador in Horduras, Mr John Ferch, as part of its campaign to step up the pressure on Nicaragua. No successor has been named yet but analysts expect "a residiver" of US policy interests to replace Mr Ferch, who drow criticism over his alleged failure to mobilise the Honduran Government into more vigorous protests over the Nicaraguan invasion in March.

A PIANIST from Beffast, Barry Douglas, won the top prize in the international Tchalkovaky competition in Moscow. It was the first time since 1958 that a foreigner has taken first prize without spitting the award with a

Nationize without spinning the award with a Soviet musician.
Soviet musician.
Douglas, 28, of Belfast, who studied at the Royal College of Music in London, impressed listeners with the strength and brightness of his perior lis performance of Tchaitovaky's Concerto No. 1 in 8 Flat Minor draw a 10-minute ovalion.

# NZ lets French agents go

THE TWO French secret agents involved in the bombing of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, which killed a photographer, are to leave gaol in New Zealand immediately for three years "confine-ment" on the South Pacific atoll of Hao, a French territory with an open air cinema, bars, and a night

The release of the two agents, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur, is part of a UN-mediated deal between France and New Zealand, which also includes an official French apology to the New Zealand Government for the attack on the ship a year ago, pay-ment of nearly £5 million in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand

Monday welcomed the agreement, arranged by the UN Socretary Genoral, Mr Javier Perez de couple on forged Swiss passports Genoral, Mr Javier Perez de couple on forged Swiss passports Cuellar, but there were signs in using the fictitious name. Cuellar, but there were signs in New Zealand of a political row over its acceptance. The Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, told a Minister, Mr David Lange, told a Prieur, a 36-year-old woman, whitting, whitting, whitting, whitting in the stress of the stre

But the leader of the Opposition,
Mr Jim Bolger, said that New
Zealand had been "humiliated"
and Mr Lange "made to look an
idiot." He recalled that as recently
as April the Prime Minister had said the agents were not for sale.

Such criticisms are likely to be reinforced by details now emerging of life on Hao, a French military staging base for the nuclear test range at Moruroa, According to Mr Lange, Hao is a desolate place with facilities. But French military by Wellington.

personnel who have served there speak of a pleasant officers' club, bars, and a night club, excellent housing, and sailing and water sports in the lagoon.

In Paris, it emerged that the two agents will have full access to family and friends but will not be allowed to leave the island without the agreement of the two governments. Nor can they give interviews or write for publication.

A spokesman for the French

Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac emphasised that they were being transferred to French territory and the Prime Minister himself referred to the new assignments awaiting them, while Mr Lange underlined that they

astruction of New Zealand were not being set free.
The beneficiaries of the settlement were widely known as the

news conference: "I feel an amazing sense of vindication. We will receive an unqualified apology from the French Government.

The leader of the Opposition, we will receive an unqualified apology from the French Government.

The leader of the Opposition, we will receive an unqualified apology from the French Government. services, pursued his interest in sport and guitar-playing. Mr Chirac on Monday praised "the exemplary dignity" with which both officers had been serving their sentences.

Mr Perez de Cuellar came closer to the New Zesland than the French position in settling a figure for compensation — \$7 million instead of the \$4 million suggested by Paris and the \$9 million sought

and formal apology to New Zea-land for the attack on the Rainbow Warrior and the breach of interna-

France will end its war of attrition against New Zealand imports. The French authorities have been using import licences and regulations to block consignments and apply pressure on the New Zealand Government. In the settlement, France under-

takes not to oppose butter imports through the EEC to Britain in 1987 and 1988, and not to take any neasures to block meat imports to Mr Lange told reporters that the

New Zealand Government regarded the Secretary-General's ruling as a fair and just resolution of the differences between France and New Zealand over the Rainbow Warrior bombing. The ruling spe-cifically met New Zealand's requirements, he said - for an apology, for compensation, for a lifting of trade restraints, and for the continued detention of the two

agents.
New Zealand also regarded it as
mechanism fundamental that a mechanism has been provided for arbitration should any dispute arise, and a three-monthly report is to be made to the UN Secretary-General on the situation of Marfart and Prisur

Mr Lange said that the Secretary-General's determination that the two agents should be detained in Hao had "an exquisite irony which will not be lost on the French."

"It is, I believe, an appropriate outcome, albeit one that was unex-

#### Nakasone jubilant as Opposition crushed By Robert Whymant In Tokyo

JAPAN'S ruling Liberal Demo-honour he lost in 1983, Mr cratic Party scored a stunning victory in Sunday's elections, exceeding the wildest hopes of the Prime Minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, and greatly boosting his prospects of staying in office when his second term expires in October.

honour he lost in 1983, Mr Nakasone can now dispense with outside support.

At the top of his agenda, said an elated Mr Nakasone, will be legislation this autumn to privatise the State railways, and, with the rough power balance between the ruling and Opposition parties now

After its most impressive elec- overturned, there seems nothing toral triumph in recent years, the party which has ruled Japan for three decades will now form a new tion reform, and a boost in the ernment, with the 68-year-old nation's military strength.

Mr Nakasone firmly in control.

"I never thought we would get 304 seats," he said jubilantly when the results were announced. "It mention to resign. It was clear that the Socialist Party leader, Mr Masashi Ishibashi, indicated his intention to resign. It was clear that the Socialist Party leader. was the voice of God, the voice of that the Socialists were taken off

heaven."

The rightwing LDP won 300 of the 512 seats in the Lower House.
Before Mr Nakasone dissolved Mr Ishibashi said there would be Parliament, his party held 250 out no elections. Not surprisingly, the of 511 seats (one seat was added under a modest electoral reform). The LDP's strength was further enhanced when it absorbed four the campaign as an "accomplished liar." independent conservatives even The sweeping conservative before the last results were announced.

gains are above all a personal victory for Mr Nakasone, who has

The final returns left the main Opposition party, the Socialists, with a mere 85 seats, far short of when the last in the last ist Party, both centrist groups, also "settling post-war accounts."

This sounds harmless enough to

after failing to win a majority in the last election three years ago. captured six seats, two fewer than before. But, having retrieved the

Outlining election issues last month, Mr Nakasone called the 40 years since the war "the most brilliant period of our history." But he said that the post-war system which the American victors introduced — had produced "various distortions." He believes his misruling and Opposition parties now sion is to correct these "distor-

One of the "distortions," in the Prime Minister's eyes, is the education system — what he has termed "principles of education prescribed to our country by the Allied occupation forces." He has pledged to change it.

General MacArthur ... intended that the post-war democratic sys-tem should free Japan from the shackles of feudalism and prevent resurgence of the militarism.

This includes the "peace Constitution" which hampers Mr Nakasone's ambition to build a militarily strong Japan. From the start of his political career, he has inveighed against the Constitution, produced under American guidance, as an "artificial flower,"

the 109 they held in the last Parliament, and a post-war low. The Komoito (clean government party) and the Democratic Social
in Design both containt groups also seen, too, as an endorsement of his favourite personal brand of nationalism, summed up in his favourite catchphrase "Sengo no sokessan," but the containt groups also seen, too, as an endorsement of his favourite personal brand of nationalism, pre-war values, when Japanese people respected the cult of the family and the literally translated means at long that the containt groups are the contained and the containt groups are the contained groups and the contained groups are the contained groups and the contained groups are the contained groups are the contained groups and the contained groups are the co national flag, and put duty to the State before individual rights.

fared badly. Komeito took 56 seats, two short of its pre-election strength, and the DSP 26 seats, against 38 in the last Parliament.
Only the Japan Communist Party held its own, maintaining its pre-election figure of 26 Lower House sents.
The New Liberal Club, which the LDP enlisted in a coalition after failing to win a majority in

of protest from neighbouring countries—the textbook, to be used in high schools next year is silent on Japanese wartime atrocities....

all its remaining influence.

#### **EXCHANGES** Starfing Rates Provings

	July 7	Closing Rates					
Australia ·	2 4135-2.4175	2.3807-2 3859					
Austra.	23.38-23.41	23.51-23 54					
Belgum	68.28-68.46	68.42-68 62					
Canada	2 1146-2.1175	2 1237-2 1274					
Denmark	12 39-12.41	-12 42-12.45					
Franco	10.70-10.72	10.69-10.71					
Germany .	3.34-1.35	3 34 3.35					
Hong Kong	12 04-12.05	12.04-12 06					
treland '	1 1070-1.1083	1.1100-1 1110					
tialy	2.298-2,299	2.294-2.298					
Japan	246.44-246.83	247.25-247.64					
Netherlands	3 763-3 768	3 76-3 77					
Norway	11 40-11.42	11.44-11 46'					
<b>Portugat</b>	225 81-227.49	227.53-229.22					
Spain	212 54-212 84	213.62-213.81					
Sweden	10 83-10.85 .	10.88-10.81					
Switzerland	2 72-2.73	2.713-2.717					
USA	1.5340-1.5350	.5400-1 5410					
ECU	1.5580-1.5599	1,5692-1 5625					
FT 30 Share index 1347-8 Gold \$344.75							

THE GUARDIAN: July 13, 1986

#### Hussein clampdown on PLO

THE Jordanian Government announced on Monday that it is closing down all 25 offices of Mr Yasser Arafat's mainstream Fatah guerrilla group in Amman and expelling a number of PLO person-

The decision, which could have profound consequences for Middle East politics, follows growing tension between Jordan and the PLO. which began in February when King Hussein announced he was breaking off political cooperation with the guerrilla organisation. Fatah is the largest component of the PLO.

Jordan's official Petra news agency said that the government decision had been taken in response to a statement by Fatah's Revolutionary Council in Tunis on June 18.

According to Radio Monte Carlo, the expulsion order includes Mr Khalil Al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, Mr Arafat's deputy as

#### By our Middle East Correspondent

commander of all PLO forces and the most senior Palestinian official still living in Jordan.

"We regret this spirit of revenge because we are trying to preserve brotherly relations," Mr Al-Wazir told reporters in Amman. But he said he believed he would be

Jordanian officials said that the decision would not affect 12 PLO offices dealing with non-military Palestinian affairs, and it seems likely that members of the PLO's executive committee and departments dealing with the affairs of the Israeli-occupied West Bank will be permitted to stay.

The Jordanian Government statement took care to note that Jordan would continue to work with the PLO as the "sole legiti-mate representative of the Palestinian people" — a position it has enjoyed since the 1974 Arab sum-

But there was no disguising the fact that King Hussein's move was intended — and widely interpreted - as a grievous blow to Mr Arufat. at a time when the PLO is politically and militarily weak and its membership is scattered. The decision leaves open the likelihood that Jordan will step up its recent attempts to win back influence in the West Bank and possibly con-sider entering peace talks with

Ms Anna Siniora, editor of the East Jerusalem newspaper Al-Fajr and a leading PLO supporter in West Bank, said that the Jordanian move meant a final and and that Amman would now lose

# **FOREIGN**

5	July 7	Citalua Marss
Australia .	2 4135-2.4175	2.3807-2 3859
Austria.	23.38-23.41	23.51-23 54
Belgum	68.28-68.46	68.42-68 62
Canada	2 1146-2.1175	2 1237-2 1274
Denmark	12 39-12.41	-12 42-12.45
Franco	10.70-10.72	10.69-10,71
Germany	3.34-1.35	3 34-3.35
Hong Kong	12 04-12.05	12.04-12.06
Ireland '	1 1070-1.1080	1.1100-1 1110
tialy	2.298-2,299	. 2,294-2,298
Japan	246.44-246.83	247.25-247.64
Netherlands	3 763-3 768	3 76-3 77
Norway	11 40-11.42	11.44-11 46 '
Portugat .	225 81-227.49	227.53-229.22
Spain	212 54-212 84	1213.62-213.61
Sweden	10 83-10.85	10.88-10.81
Switzerland USA	2 72-2.73	2.713-2.717
ECU	1.5340-1.5350	.5400-1 5410
200	1.5580-1.5599	1.5592-1 5625
	tre index 1347-8	Gold \$344.75
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# American scientists to inspect on site

Semipalatinsk site by installing nuclear tests in the region during

A GROUP of American scientists were due to leave Moscow this week to install for the first time seismic monitoring devices around the main Soviet underground test site for nuclear weapons at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan. The scientists, from the US-

based Natural Resource Defence Council, are placing the instru-ments as part of a private venture, ing. But their action could embarrass the Reagan Administration, which continues to base its rejec-tion of any nuclear test ban agreement on the issue of verifica-

The team of nine scientists will monitor activity at the record even if there were no Soviet

three sets of instruments. They will build up a set of measure-ments of local seismic activity, and the monitoring period, said Dr Thomas Cockrane, the NRDC's senior scientist, who will lead the assess the effect of earthquakes group to Semipalatinsk.

"We believe that modern seismic The result should be a virtually

foolproof system to check whether the Russians are abiding by any future test ban treaty. The team has been welcomed by the Soviet authorities, which are still abiding by a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons tests.

data they collect. There would be useful data to do extra work with American

The American scientists have un-

dertaken to provide both the US

But the Foreign Office was sur-

achieved on provisions for compli-ance with a chemical weapons ban,

would agree to on-site inspection.

Union's insistence that the private

sector, including multinational companies, must be covered by the

provisions of the treaty as well as

General Chervov is head of the

directorate of the Soviet chief of

By Hella Pick

staff, and is one of the Kremlin's

Meanwhile, Congressional pres-

sure is building up on the US Administration to halt production

of the troubled BigEye chemical bomb in the wake of the latest test

ment later this month. Both the

Senate and the House of Represen-

senior spokesman on arms control.

state-owned facilities.

and the Soviet Governments with

methods make it possible to achieve reliable verification," Professort Mikhail Sodovsky, Di-

rector of the Soviet Institute of Geophysics, told the Soviet press agency, Novoski. "Our national systems can already verify the observance of any ban on testing. However, the US Congress demands a kind of super

guarantee. In our view, this is excessive, though we are ready to

#### More optimism about a summit weapons negotiations.

PRESIDENT REAGAN has for the first time expressed optimism that a summit with the Soviet leader later this year may produce tangible results on arms control, as well as on regional and human rights

In a White House transcript of an interview with the President, he explains that his optimism is based on a letter from Mr Mikhail Gorbachev last week, in which he says the Soviet leader has opened additional doors" on arms control. on regional conficts and also on human rights and immigration. The letter was "quite a packet and worthwhile," Mr Reagan said.

Despite President Reagan's apparent confidence that the way to a productive summit has now been opened. Administration officials remain profoundly cautious. Some sceptics are apparently suspicious that the Soviet Union may not make up its mind on a summit until it sees a US answer to its latest arms control proposals, and receives US assurances that US strategic arsenals will be maintained at more or less their present levels, even if the Salt II treaty is

technically pronounced dead. Important progress has been achieved towards a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, according to a senior Soviet official, General Nikolai Chervov, who is on a brief

visit to London. Asserting that "agreement has been reached in principle, on all but one of the major outstanding issues," with only the question of controlling chemical production in the private sector still to be resolved, General Chervov said that the other "minor" differences Britain is closely involved in the

#### Drug dealers hanged

TWO Australian heroin traffickers, Brian Chambers and Kevin Barlow, were hanged shortly be-fore dawn in Kuala Lumpur on Monday, after a flurry of last-minute appeals to the Malaysian authorities for mercy or a stay of execution failed,

The two were the first Westerners to hang under Malaysia's tough anti-drugs laws, which prescribe death for anyone convicted of having over 15 grammes of

Chambers and Barlow, who was born in Stoke and who also held British nationality, were arrested on the resort island of Penang in November, 1983, with 180 grammes of heroin and given mandatory death sentences last July. An appeal failed last Decem-

Chambers and Barlow were

BigEye from military budgets in The United States has intercept-

prised by General Chervov's opti-mism, and appeared doubtful that ed a missile moving at three times the speed of sound, thanks to Star any breakthrough had yet been Wars technology, Mr Casper Weinberger, the Defence Secrein particular the circumstances under which the Soviet Union tary, announced with great fanfare last week. This issue has been as central to Mr Weinberger told a Pentagon the negotiations as the Soviet

press conference that the successful experiment involving a nonnuclear dovice and carried out secretly, had moved the US "much farther towards our goal of defence against missiles of all ranges." According to Pentagon officials, the test would allow the US to

"terminal" phase after they have towards American targets. The Flag Experiment involved destroying a larget that was launched from a plane at 44,000 feet, the Pentagon said. The interception actually took place at 12.000 feet above the earth in an

defend itself against in-coming

Russian ballistic missiles at the

data. Pentagon officials judged the experiment that was "designed to most recent tests to be a qualified success, although at least one key component failed repeatedly. strengthen deterrence by finding a etter way to destroy enemy mis But a bipartisan group of 20 senators wrote to the Defence The Defence Secretary was Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger, clearly determined to use the test on June 26, saying: "All of us will to keep the SDI research programme on track. Both houses of

vote against producing any weap-on that has failed its tests for Congress have taken steps to slash funds from President Reagan's utility, reliability, and effectiveproposed \$4.9 billion spending on SDI this year. Mr Weinberger may also fear The BigEye bomb, one of several new weapons being developed by the Pentagon to replace existing chemical arms stockpiles, can ex-pect rough congressional treatthat Administration moderates will be tempted to slow research on

## Top historian suspended

A FRAUD perpetrated by extreme Claude Rivière. Other universities rightwingers intended to back the-ories that the Nazi gas chambers but Professor Rivière, who never existed was condemned by specialises in medieval Provence, the Universities Minister, Mr is editor of an extreme rightwing Alain Devaquet, last week, when magazine and an active member of he suspended one of France's top historians from his university post

Another member, of the jury historians from his university post and cancelled a doctorate secretly awarded to a rightwing militant.

The decision came after weeks of protest by human rights Forces Party - an extreme rightorganisations, university profes-wing risors and Jewish organisations Front. against the award of a doctorate to Mr. Roques, an outspoken supporter of Nazi Germany, described the minister's decision as "intellectual terroriam" and said that he stood by his analysis, in which he

reduce strategic nuclear sys-

which mot secretly in the sumn recess last year was a leading member of the PFN — the New wing rival to the French National

the former Black Internationals.
A local paper revealed that Mr
Roques, a historian specialising in anti-semitic research, had been millions of Jews in gas chambers. awarded his doctorate by a secretly convened university jury at examination of the confessions of hanged despits appeals for clemency from the Australian and British
Prime Ministers and from the
by the local university history helped to instal the first gas
human rights group Armesty Int.

convened university jury at examination of the confessions of
cy from the Australian and British
by the local university's history helped to instal the first gas
human rights group Armesty Int.

#### Marcos loyalists surrender after putsch fails

By our Foreign Staff

A counter-revolution by supporters President Marcos's vice-presidenof the deposed Philippines presi-dent, Ferdinand Marcos, collapsed after about 200 rebel soldiers surrendered to the government. A senior military official, Colonel Emiliano Templo, said on Monday the soldiers gave up at dawn after government troops backed by tanks and armoured personne carriers sealed the area around the hotel in central Manila where the 75-year-old former Foreign Minisgovernment in the name of Mr

Mr Tolentino and six disaffected forces generals lacked the backing of armoured units, which were reported earlier to be advancing into central Manila, or of the public at large. No violence was reported in the capital or else-

The putsch attempt had ap-peared doomed after a claim by Mr Tolentino that he had been joined putsch attempt had by Mrs Aquino's influential Defence Minister, Mr Juan Ponce Enrile, was quickly denied by Mr Enrile in a radio interview. "I thank them for the offer," Mr Enrile said, "but I am not looking for a new job."

President Aquino, speaking in Mindanao in the south of the country, said earlier that a dolegation of senior officers had been sent ment. However, all those involved could face charges of sedition, she said. The army chief of staff, General Fidel Ramos, who was also out of town at the time of the attempted putsch, reacted calmly too, saying: "We have the situation under control . . . we have the support of all the services of the

A day of confusing and slightly bizarre events began with the announcement by Mr Tolentino, that he was taking over as acting President and was in the process of forming a new government.

tial candidate in the elections in February this year, had himself sworn in by a former Supreme ing that he would carry on until Mr Marcos returned from Hawaii. He had acted, he said, on Mr Marcos's orders, and added that after he took the oath, he tele ohoned Mr Marcos, who congratu-

An hour earlier, five truckloads ter, Arturo Tolentino, proclaimed a of troops with Marcos campaign ribbons tied to the barrels of their guns had joined the pro-Marcos demonstators in a park near th

Reading a letter he said was written by Mr Marcos, Mr that in view of (my) unavoidable absence from the Philippines, I authorise Tolentino to be the legitimate head of the country until such times that I return . . .

Among the six generals siding with Mr Tolentino were Brigadier-General Jose Zumel and Brigadier-General Prospero Olivas, a former paramilitary police chief, who was one of 25 people acquitted last December of the 1983 murder of Mrs Aquino's husband, Benigno.

Despite the rebels' claim that he had joined their cause, Mr Enrile was swift to disavow any collusion The Philippines, he said: "Could to negotiate with the rebels but not afford two governments. I indicated that they did not repre- would just like to ask the people to sent a serious threat to her govern- be calm and not to panic. Let us avoid violence." Mr Enrile's swift support for Mrs Aquino was said collapse of the putsch.

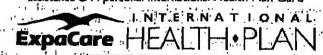
Mr Marcos's activities in Hawaii have become a source of increasing embarrassment to Washington The State Department, in a prepared statement, said: "We under-stand that General Ramos and Defence Minister Enrile are working closely with President Aquino to bring matters under control. The US strongly supports the Government of President Aquino and is against efforts such as these

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THE African National Congress is bracing itself for a sustained cambracing paign by the British, American. and other Western governments to "draw its teeth" as a liberation

As Sir Geoffrey Howe prepares to visit South Africa to try to preempt mounting pressures for sanctions against the white minority regime, interviews with senior ANC officials make it clear that the ANC is convinced that a twopronged Western Strategy is now

The first prong is to try to set up some sort of process of mediation or dialogue as a replacement for sanctions, with the argument that anctions, with the argument that any tightening of sanctions is premature as long as talka are going on. The second is to press the ANC to call off its armed strugle or "suspend the violence," in order to create, it will be claimed, a better climate for government conces-

In both cases ANC officials expect a heightening of the long-standing but hitherto spasmodic efforts by Western governments to split the ANC by describing it as Communist deminated. The state is expected to focus on describing the ANC as consisting of moderates and hard-liners, with the ANC executive's Communist Party members cast as the latter

So fur the campaign has had little success, partly, as one ANC official put it, because "nothing is being offered by the regime which could conceivably attract non-Communist nationalists. Not even the formality of democracy is being

offered, let alone the substance."

The ANC has long had a close link with the South African Communist Party, which was founded ten years after it, in 1922. At the funeral in Mozambique in March of Moses Mabhida, the general secretary of the SACP. Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president, praised the "deep-seated feeling of revolutionary unity and interdependence" between the ANC, the Communist Party, and the trade

union movement.
Although the SACP had revolutionary aims long before the ANC espoused them, officials say that in recent debates on key questions such as negotiating strategies and attacks on civilion targets in South Africa the ANC's Communists take differing positions among themselves, and are by no means always more radical than

The ANC has never publicly acknowledged how many of its 30member executive committee are Communists. But officials say the figure of 23 alleged by the South African Government is a gross exaggeration. To take just one example, the ANC's general secretary, Alfred Nzo, alleged by Pretoria to be a Communist, is not.

One of the open SACP members is the chief of staff of the ANC military wing, Joe Slove. He was in the party before it was banned Communist Party always has been and continues to be an influential part of the struggle. We can't be wished away. Our position has been won by contribution, not by

We were the only non-racial politi-cal party in South Africa until last

"I don't want to suggest that we're competing with the ANC. but that was at a time when the ANC was rather moderate, singing God Save the King at the end of public meetings."
The ANC's radicalisation and its

close links with the SACP began in the mid-1940s with the then young Turks in the ANC Youth League, like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu.

Mr Slovo defends the policy of anonymity of SACP members. The party was already working under-ground for a decade before the ANC was also banned. "No communist party which is forced to work in clandestinity, has ever come out publicly, not in Portugal, Spain, or anywhere else. We would be the first to be targeted, if we all came out." Mr Slovo acknowledges that anonymity makes it easy for opponents to smear the ANC but says that this is one of the realities which has to be faced. The smears would not abate just because the SACP declared its members.

He describes the party's role as being "to act in an uninhibited way to assert the dominant role of the working class in the liberation alliance headed by the ANC." Both the party and the ANC accept this

#### By Jonathan Steele

dominant role of working people in the coalition of class forces which are fighting for national liber-ation, "but the ANC cannot and ly to workers' aspirations as a class, nor should it act as their civilian casualties is particularly should not commit itself exclusivepolitical vanguard".

A recent internal party discussion document was obtained by South African Government agents, and publicised by Mr Botha. In it, the party warned against what it called "the 'liberal' bourgeoisie and their like-minded imperialist erable movement by the white friends who triggered off the current series of talks and dialogue

"Let us be clear," the document went on. "The 'liberal' bourgeoisie seeks transformations of South African society which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. Old style apartheid no longer serves their class interests. In addition external pressures triggered off by an unending peo-ple's resistance are taking a terri-ble toll of their existing and potential economic interests."

The document stressed the need for economic as well as political democracy — "this implies more than an alternation in voting arrangements," and "majority rule in its true meaning". It said the "liberal" bourgoisie and its foreign friends would try to push the revolutionary forces into negotia-tions before these were strong enough to impose their basic goals. been accepted by the South Afri-"We must not play into their hands by working out compromises for being seen to work out compromises for some hypothetical nego-

manipulation."

Mr Slovo's wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a South African Government letter bomb. "In a sense," he goes on, "the SACP pioneered much of what the nationalist movement now stands for. We were the only non-racial political party in South Africa until last year when the ANC opened its top ranks to whites. We were the first with the concept of majority rule in which the concept of majority rule in the main aims of the national aims of the mation aims of the national democratic revolution."

The document takes particular issue with Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, who recently resigned as leader of the main white opposition purty the Progressive Federal Party. He has held talks in Lusaka with the ANC. He later met Botha, who released a transcript of the meeting, in which the former opposition leader of the meeting in the teeth" of the ANC and wanted will take part."

The document takes particular issue with Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, who recently resigned as calcular to prove in a united, democratic South Africa, the ANC believes menting on Sir Geoffrey Howe's hope of setting up a dialogue on his forthcoming trip, one ANC man said "We have had too many toy telephones in South African history already. I don't think anyone will take part." national democratic revolution."

South African Intelligence.
Other ANC officials have stressed in interviews that the movement is united in not being ready to contemplate a ceasefire until well into any process of negotiations. The precedents of Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia were that agreement precedes a ceasefire, and not vice-

"If we ask people to call off their resistance we're helping to create the illusion that the other side can be trusted," said one official. "It would damage the important mo-mentum which has built up."

A gesture such as the temporary suspension of the campaign o abotage is also ruled out. "The people are not our puppets. If we were to say 'Let's trust Botha. Let's make a gesture'. I think they would say 'We don't accept that'. There's been one example of bad faith after another." ANC officials cite as the most recent example the experience of the Eminent Persons'

The ANC came under pressure from Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Kaunda of Zambia, and the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Sir Sridath Ramphal, to listen to the EPG's plan for a simultaneous suspension of the violence on their side along with the release of Nelson Mandels and the legalisation of the ANC on the other. Two days after the EPG came to the ANC for talks, South Africa attacked ANC offices in Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana.

urgent. It is not just a moral argument, but also a question of effectiveness since ANC officials
say a high priority now is to
break the traditional white consensus behind minority rule.

They have already seen considprecedent is constantly in their minds. "The West is trying to find a moderate alternative to Botha, preferably with a black face," said one ANC official. "Chief Buthelezi was at one time being groomed as a kind of South African Muzorewa. Now they're losing confidence in his drawing power but they have not been able to find a credible black leader. The issue of Communists in the ANC is bound to be built up. The trouble for the United States is that the South African issue stands above ideological politics in the world. They can't deal with it like with Nicara-

As with Rhodesia, they say that negotiations can only take place on the understanding that the principle of a transfer of power to the majority has already been agreed. This was the basis for the talks which Mrs Thatcher sponsored at Lancaster House. Once that has tiating table which constitute a ment, are not excluded when ANC retroat from the main aims of the officials speculate on possible con-

#### Rekindled Liberty's fitful light

By Alex Brummer in New York

WHEN the Olesiak family sailed to Southampton, where they majestically past Miss Liberty on the Fourth of July, her copper green coat gleaming in the bright sunlight, the only "huddled masses" in sight were the cheering, waving boaters aboard the thousands of yachts.

It wasn't quite like this from 1880 to 1924, when the golden door swung open and 17 million immigranta — Italians, Slavs, Greeks and Russian Jews — swarmed into New York in teeming, rat-infested vessels. Ryszard Olesiak, a Solidarity refugee from General Jaruzelski's Poland, his wife, Magdalena, and their two enchanted children arrived in style.

The QE2, with a giant 100-foot Stars and Stripes spread across its starboard side, boomed its grating bass horn. The air resonated with the sounds of the Star-Spangled Banner, the Marseillaise, and, perhaps for the only time during the Liberty 100th birthday party, God Save the Queen. The 700 Chrysler car salesmen, their wives and girlfriends, whose mentor, Lee lacocca, paid \$7 million to hire the Queen, looked on emotionally as the Olesiaks did their stuff and

A shower of plump pink carnations rained down on the blueishgrey water, and thousands of red, white and blue balloons soared above the Queen sailing past the ungainly form of the McDonald's blimp, casting a garish flying hamburger shadow over the whole scens. "We are very happy to be here," Mr Olesiak pronounced in broken English as a passing fire ship gushed patriotic dyed water jets into the harbour.

Streaming towards the Queen and the anchored US carrier, the John F. Kennedy, from Long Is-land Sound came an armada of yachts, boats, junks, schooners in full colours and tall ships dressed o kill, rehearsing for the Independence Day Sail-past by 40 vessels from around the world — in perhaps the greatest maritime procession since Helen of Troy launched a thousand ships.

Hundreds swarmed around the birthday girl, looking from the high decks of the Queen like soapy clothing rumbling around the green core of a washing machine. As fast as they dropped anchor in search of a ringside seat, US Coastguard cutters would steam up and move them on with the tact of a New York cop.

At stake for the boaters, who

sailed west from the Old World, south from New England, and north from the Chesapeake and even Panama, was a view of the first public demonstration of Star Wars technology. President Reagan, with a flair for the dramatic, flipped the switch from his champagne-bathed podium on Governor's Island, sending forth a aser beam with which to light the lifted lamp and bathe Miss Liberty in glorious floodlight, starting bellacross a joyous nation.

Auspicious welcome to the New World. Standing before a plaster model of Miss Liberty in the Queen's Room, where night club performers do their stuff in white plastic Holiday Inn decor, they must have wondered what they had let themselves in for.

America's newest residents had refugee camp in Athens, where their request to enter the United States was favourably received by the dreaded Immigration and boarded along with the sharp-shooting Chrysler salesmen.

From New York, according to Methodist Bishop Roy Clark, the Olesiaks will be taken to York, Pennsylvania - where Methodist churches have promised to settle them in their new land of freedom After the culinary and other de lights of a QE2 crossing, and a blimp and helicopter salute from overhead, it is certain to be

Mr Reagan declared that the restored statue would be "a beacon hope for mankind". To the Olesiaks and the 300 new immigrants sworn in here that night it meant that, and more.

But not all Americans were able to sail past the Lady and intone Emma Lazarus's words:

"Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. The wretched refuse of your

pest-tost to me.

I lift my lamp beside the golden

The outsiders at the party are the millions of black Americans who passed by the golden door in chains, went through the perils of slavery and share-cropping and now form the underclass in the nation's cities, the native-Navajo Indians, who are being moved from their reservations, once again, the hundreds of "boat people" from Haiti who are herded into camps in Florida, the thousands of Mexicans who are rounded up each week along the Rio Grande, put into cells, and then made to walk back to wretched lives.

As Dr Milton Morris notes in his 1985 Brookings study Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy, Miss Liberty has not always been what it is cracked up to be. "Nonwhites were virtually excluded for most of the country's history, and currently Salvadorans fleeing from turmoil in their home and are being denied refuge."

For many black Americans the spirit of Liberty means nothing. 'It's a celebration for immigrant and that has nothing to do with me," argues John Hope Franklin, a historian of slavery and visiting professor at Duke University.

To mark their distaste for the Liberty proceedings more than 600 Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and American Indians gathered in New York last weekend under the banner of the Campaign for Eco-nomic and Social Justice to offer a different view of the celebration. "We saw the type of commercialism that was going on, as well as the lack of representation of people of colour — we felt it was important for us to make a social statement," says Brooklyn's member of the New York State Assembly, Roger Green: "The celebration reflects a historical revisionism. There has not been in any real sense a focus on the fact that our struggle for liberty is ongoing."

. A telling poll by US News and World Report found that the spirit of Liberty fails to light the nation's way in the manner in which the media hype would have us believe. When asked if US immigration quotas should be raised, to allow more newcomers to enter, 51 per come to the New World via a cent asked for a reduction, 35 per refugie camp in Athens, where cent wanted the thing left alone and just 8 per cent were in favour of an increase. This despite the belief by half the respondents that the ethnic mix of the United States Naturalisation Service. From the ethnic mix of the United States there, their sponsors from the Church World Service took them nation's greatness".

#### Molotov back in favour

By Martin Walker in Moscow THE former Soviet prime minister whose name inspired the Molotov cocktail has formally lost "non-person" status to which he has seen condemned for 25 years.

Vyacheslav Molotov, now aged 96, was interviewed in the Russian-language edition of Moscow News, and a summary article was published by Tass. There were unconfirmed reports 18 months ogo that Molotov had been readmitted into the Communist Party, but this is the first public rehabilitation of one of the last old Bolseheviks who helped overthrow the Tear in 1917

At the 1961 party congress, he was accused of helping draw up the death lists for Stalin's purges, expelled from the party's Central Committee and finally expelled from the party in 1964.

In the interview, Molotov said he now receives "a large pension" and lives in considerable comfort at a dacha in Zhukovna, the prestigious country retreat near Moscow.

The main point of this public endorsement of the old man was apparently to publicise his support for the new style of Mikhail Gorbachev's Government.

"I keep abreast of all current events," he said "I am inspired by the changes now taking place in

But such an article carries another, more discreet implication for the Soviet audience. It reemphasises Mr Gorbachev's point that there is such a thing as honourable retirement for old vants of the party, and that a loss of office need not mean loss of privilege, far less loss of life.

# Swearing by the slain never to forget

craier "You — move out of the way. We are filming."

TV gentlemen do that the world over, unscathed. But an old Scotsman in full kilt roared at this one: "Say please when you talk to people - and get your hair cut." We were with the army now

the stoop-shouldered remnants of Kitchener's Army - in the most intimate of the events forming the last big commemoration of the dead of the Somme battlefield in the lifetimes of its survivors. Seconds later, a maroon went up

in the summer sky, as it did at the same time 70 years ago, at 7.30am on July 1, 1916. In 1916, that was a signal for the

detonation of four 60.000lb andmines, one of which blasted the 90ft crater on which the 400 of us stood at La Boiselle.

The explosion in turn was a signal for the offensive which brought 60,000 British casualties in its first hour and 1.2 million dead on both sides in four months. The landmines did little good. Although the explosives for it were

taken down the secret 250 yard tunnel, this was the few dozon yards too far away to collapse the that was the story of the Somme.

Recently the great hole, in which brambles now grow, was bought by an Englishman, Richard Dunning, of Guildford, who did not want houses built on ground in which so many bits of human Last week a plain cross made

from Tyneside wood was unveiled in homage to the regiment which

AN officious, wavy haired gentleman from the BBC yelled at a couple strolling along the lip of the ploded at 7.30am . . . men fell on from their loved ones and — as every side screaming from the severity of their wounds. Had they happened to them — the slaughter of much of their generation. But lived, would they ever have forgivthey looked on impassively and The service paper said: "Tout le

Southworth, stared down at us and monde chante Oh God Our Help In most sternly spoke two lines from the anti-war poet Siegfried Sasit was possible to believe that much of Europe was here in spirit 800n: "Look down and swear by the green of the spring that you will never forget. Look down and swear at least, reflecting on one of the twentieth century's great by the slain of the war that you Golgothas. will never forget."

By John Ezard in Thiepval, Northern France

After this, the open air congre-

gation threw poppy petals into the crater and placed little wooden remembrance crosses all along its David's declamation was the

closest anybody came to trying deliberately to make us feel chas tened. The big event, led by the Duke of Kent, 31/2 hours later beneath the great arch in the British Commonwealth cemetery at Thiepval was, if anything, Reading from the Funeral Ora-

tion of Pericles, the Duke said: "In the hour of trial, the one thing they feared was dishonour . . . for the whole earth is the sepulchre of heroes Monuments may rise, tablets be set up to them in their own lands, but there is an abiding memorial that no pen or chisel has traced. It is not on stone or brass, but on the living hearts of human

The 70 British and French veteruns mated in places of honour in perished around the village. A Younger, the Defence Secretary, brief service began with a reading and French VIPs, had feared many

Luytens's 141ft high triple arch. soldiers with no known grave, is flanked by sycamore, poplars, copper beeches, and silver birches. But it still stands out starkly among the undulating folds of

Somme furmland, waist high with A layman might say that the countryside was like Norfolk, rather flat. But to the veterans it teems with bridges, salients and redoubts

and stumps of trees.
"The Somme doesn't look like anything terrestrial any more,"the French writer, Pierre Loti recorded at the time . . . "a squashed brown

"It is almost beyond comprehension," the Army's Chaplain General, Archdeacon Frank Johnston, said in his sermon at Thiepyal The enormity of the losses, the horrendous suffering, the confu-sion, the awesome effect on those of us who stand here. What a person remembers makes him the kind of person he is."

The Last Post, from the sound

tion contained experts.

"It was a bit too slow at the beginning," one veteran said after-wards. A piper followed with "The Flowers of the Forest Are All Gang Awa," a lament written for the loss of the Flower of Scots chivalry in the Battle of Flodden Field, in 1415. But it proved just as evocative of the Flower of 1916.

It sent tears coursing down the faces of three old soldiers sitting in front of the Duke, then two 90year-old British survivors took two minutes to toil and sweat up the memorial's 25 steep steps alongsic their French counterparts to lay a wreath 'To Our Comrades. But the war fractured our lives

too. For the first time last week Mrs Betty Bower, aged 75, of Newcastle, laid a wreath at the foot of the arch bearing the name of her brother Ted, killed at the Somme at the age of 18. She had only just found his name. "It has been the dream of my life to do

A few feet away another New castle woman, Mrs Annie Patterson, aged 73, discovered the name of her father, Will Coulson, killed 70 years ago last week at the age of 32, when she was three years old. "I have found you," she said to the name on the memorial bearing the names of 73,000 oth ers. "I have found you at last."

She has the dimmest memory of her father going off to war. remember I fell down the front doorstep and he ran and picked me love and comfort I have missed all



#### Water under the bridge

IF privatisation's epitaph — like that of Keats — becomes "writ in water," then the Government will have no one to blame but Government will have no one to claime out itself. The shelving of plans to sell off the monopoly supply of water to the private sector ends, at least for the moment, the most ill-conceived privatisation of them all. Ill-conceived, because short of putting a Peacock meter in the air we breathe (but leave to the conceived). let's not put ideas into anyone's head) the Government was proposing to denationalise the most "natural" of all the monopolies for which there is no substitute. You can't take your business elsewhere because there is no elsewhere, only one tap coming into your house. Nor does water have any of the other benefits claimed by privatisation. The pres-sure towards increased efficiency posed by threat of bankruptcy hardly applies. Stand up the Minister who would allow a water authority to go bankrupt?

Of the 11 advantages of privatisation

listed in the February white paper there is barely one which could not be achieved without hiving off. Raising money in the City (instead of from the Treasury), profitsharing, reducing ministerial intervention, the creation of a watchdog body, diversitying into tourism, paying higher sularies and so on; all of these things can und, probably should, be done anyway. The problem arises the content of the content

#### Weinberger's big bang theory

MR WEINBERGER'S Interceptor missile, launched over New Mexico, has been claimed by the Pentagon as some kind of proof that its Star Wars show is on the road. It is certainly evidence of something, but not necessarily of that. No one seriously doubts that if all the available American technology is pressed into service a target travelling at Mach 3 and 12,000 feet can be shot out of the air. This represents a not very large qualitative advance on events which have happened on various occusions over the Golan Heights or the Beka'a Valley. It says next to nothing about the capacity to intercept the simultaneous launch of the entire Soviet cannonade at speeds and altitudes vastly greater, and the only surprise is that the Pentagon should take the trouble to announce it. Unless, that is, the announcement was the most impor-

Moscow has gradually relaxed its condi-tions for reaching a three-tiered arms agreement, and its latest position on the Strategic Defence Initiative is that tests should be confined to the laboratory and the two sides should prolong the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty for another 15 or 20 years. The New Mexico test looks like a twofingered answer — not from the US Administration as such, in so far as such a corporate entity exists, but from one branch of it - to Mr Gorbachev and the well-known pinkoes who populate Western Europe and are inclined to take him seriously in this matter. For the test does both things at once: it takes the experiments out of the laboratory, and technically at least it nudges at the fringes of the ABM Treaty.

Both Moscow and Washington are acting on the assumption that a summit will be held, though not before the mid-term elections. There is, however, a notable lack of simultaneity about the proclamations of versa. The decisive question is how little Mr Gorbachev is prepared to settle for. He is not, he says, going for a mere handshake. On the other hand he can't expect a fullblown treaty on intermediate missiles in Europe. That is not, in any case, in America's hands to deliver. Britain and ngreement to abolish or reduce the intermedinte forces. That is because the Russians still insist that the forces of the two countries, though they can stay, must not be significantly increased. Between the handshake and the treaty there is probably a point of principle to be established about wenpons in Europe which would be acceptable to both the US and the USSR. Therefore the prospect of a summit need not Weinberger will not honour Mr Gorbachev's arrival with a 21-kiloton salute in Nevada.

(Summit prospects, page 7)

falsely, equates privatisation with extreme difficulty of privatising all the deregulation. If Thames Water wants to authorities at once. This coincided with launch new initiatives, from providing growing environmental worries about the plumbing services to opening marinas, then let it do so. Indeed, the interim period before water is duly privatised til the Conservatives are returned to office) offers an excellent opportunity to see just how a

> assets as it wants. What this is all about is not water on tap, but cash on tap. And that, in the end, was why it failed, because no one looked beyond the bottom line. The Government saw the water industry as a quick way to raise snything from £4 to £8 billion in cash which could be recycled into a reduction in the standard rate; an unpopular privatisation to pay for tax cuts which, so opinion polls tell

nationalised water authority could cope with limited deregulation by using its

hardly anyone seems to want. us, hardly anyone seems to want.

And then came the problems. Financially, the City did not see the industry, with the possible exception of Thames, as a growth markot. The prospect of charging by usage (through meters) would almost certainly lead to a decline in consumption, which would mean that profits would have to come from manipulating whatever price restraint formula was adopted. There were reports of having to write off much of the industry's debts to make it more attractive and of the

authornes at once. This coincided with growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between maximising profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring the effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife. And with another lobby including the industry's main union lobby, including the industry's main union, preparing to fight a legal battle about whether the water authorities were really owned by local councils rather than Government, the Cabinet finally gave way at the knees: it postponed a bill which was controversial even within its own party and which could have produced a messy dogfight during a period when pre-electoral tranquil-

during a period when pre-electoral tranquiity was required by the party managers.

This won't earn many Brownie points for
Mr Ridley, the high priest of privatisation,
who has already had to postpone the
flotation of British Airways. The money for
the tax cuts will, doubtless, be found from
elsewhere, from British Airports and British Consul from realizing the remains of Sir ish Gas and from selling the remains of Sir Winston Churchill's investment in BP. And, tinal irony, if the Chancellor is still short of the cash needed to cut taxes, he will now be able to do what he did last year and force water charges up by more than the authorities themselves thought necessary. Taxes may yot be writ in water.

#### When police carry guns

THERE will be very few people who are completely satisfied with the outcome of the trial of PC Brian Chester for the killing of five-year-old John Shorthouse. This is not to say that the Stafford Crown Court jury which acquitted PC Chester reached a which acquitted PC thester reached a perverse verdict. Anyone who makes that claim is simply looking for any excuse to attack the police. The jury were faced with a horrendously difficult choice between in flicting judicial punishment on a police officer for what was beyond any doubt an accidental killing and acquitting him, an action which would leave the death unpunished in any way. It was always hard unpunished in any way. It was always hard to believe that the jury would not choose the latter course if the evidence allowed them to do so. It did - and they have duly done so. That doesn't make it a clean cut or a pleasant verdict. Yet, in the end, it is difficult to believe that a conviction would

huve been any more just.
That still leaves big questions unanswered. First and foremost, there is the question of the Shorthouse family to consider. They have lost their son. He was killed by a police officer. It is impossible to disagree with the boreaved mother who said that she still holds the police "totally responsible" for her son's death. It is extremely important, not just for the individuals involved, but also for the police force, that the police accept corporate responsibility, even if not criminal guilt, for the killing. There must be some form of compensation to the family from the police. It seems unlikely that the Shorthouses generous) criminal injuries compensation scheme. But the last thing that anyone should want to see now is for the Shorthouses to be subjected to the indignity and humiliations of a long-drawn-out civil action for damages and compensation. What is needed, surely, is a quick police commitment to a substantial ex gratia payment. The local chief constable should not now.

The Shorthouse cuse is a landmark in the development of police arms policy. Like Waldorf before it, the shooting occurred because Britain's police have trained too many police too perfunctorily in the handling of arms and because the officers in overall command of such cases have not exercised the appropriate degree of supervision. It is clear that it is the guns and the men in the front line who have been making the policy, rather than the supervisors. The court decision, however inadvertently, may well have added to the belief that the operational officers can make their own rules and get away with them. It is important to nip that response firmly in the bud now. Already, since Shorthouse, some forces have begun to restrict the numbers of officers getting gun training, in the hope of making it a more specialist skill. That is not enough. There has got to be a real overhaul of the terms under which guns are issued, carried, and used by the police. Unless that happens, we will all feel sorry for the Shorthouses but nothing will have been done

> Opec's share of the world market (excluding the Eastern bloc) is likely to rise this under 38 per cent last year and 66 per cent at its peak) thanks to its policy of trying to recoup lost market share. The price of Brent crude slipped further last week to \$11 a barrel. This followed the inconclusive meeting of members of Opec in Yugoslavia who, although no longer formed into an effective cartel, still have it in their power (since several are producing considerably below capacity) to reduce prices even further to gain a bigger share of the market. It is commonly supposed that, at around \$10. even President Reagan would take action not only to protect small American producers, but also the country's strategic capability. ty. Always remember though that there is

#### A bad night at the opera

WHAT'S wrong with booing at the opera, for goodness sake? They sometimes boo for half an hour at Bayreuth. In Italy, loud denunciation is the norm. So the "full two minutes" of audience disapprobation that greeted the curtain of Covent Garden's new production of Fidelio hardly ranks as a totally new phenomenon in the operatic world, even if it is still newsworthy for the reserve of a stolid British audience to break down in such a way.

Booing is a tricky subject at a time when very wise people are warning that Britain is becoming a yob society. To some, booing at the opera feels uneasily like the upmarket equivalent of football hooliganism. There's a tendency around that says well-brought up people, enjoying seats costing 30-odd quid a time, should set an example. And, of course, there was more than a bit of Hooray Henrydom at work last week, just as there was when the Jockey Club members wrecked the Paris premiere of Tannhäuser in 1861. Sir Colin Davis, the Royal Opera's music director for 15 years, has always had a claque of opponents and there is no doubt that they took their opportunity to give him a noisy send-off in this, his final production. The bulk of the booing, though, was clearly from people who didn't like what they heard and (more particularly) saw. That doesn't make their booing a nice event. But at least it showed that they cared. At least it showed that there are people in this country who aren't so intimidated by the arts elite that they can't give voice to their own opinions. Why should people applaud all the time? We need more booing in Britain, not less.

Which is not to say that the booers were right about Fidelio. Covent Garden audiences are of a cultural conservations exceeded only on the other side of the Atlantic. If they had their way, it would be one Aida after another. There would be no place for risk-taking. No Berg or Britten, even, let along any Maxwell Davies or Stockhausen. No forward-looking productions from Gotz Friedrich or the current villain, Andrei Serban. Even as things are, the conservatives have been able to use the public sector opera cash crisis to lever Covent Garden's artistic policy - such as i is - their way. Most of the exciting operation ideas in Britain these days are therefore to be found at the Coliseum or in Wales rather than in Bow Street. It is very much to Sir Colin Davis's credit, however, that in his period in charge at Covent Garden he has consistently tried to push the artistic boundaries outwards rather than inwards. That involves taking risks and making mistakes. Even if the new Fidelio is a failure, it is better to have a policy which produces failures which are over-ambitious in their desire to say something different rather than failures which have no ambition at all beyond providing aural wallpaper for the rich. (Review, page 20).

## Opec and Britain's simplistic oil policy

OPEC'S manifest failure to implement effective quotas has prolonged, for the foreseeable future, the unexpected luxury (as long as you are not an indebted oil producer like Mexico) of low oil prices. There is a danger, though, that it will lull us into a false sense of security about future been almost disarmingly simplistic. It doesn't believe in energy monopolies abrond: only at home. It has steadfastly refused to join Opec because that would diminish competition, yet it will happily leave British Gas an undiluted monopoly after privatisation. It believes that prices should best be left to the market mechanism (another reason for not joining Opec) yet at home it unashamedly forces electricity, gas and water prices up by more than the

utilities say that the market demands.

This Jekyll and Hyde stuff is an energy policy of sorts, but it ducks long-term problems that will not go away. By ignoring Opec pleas for restraint in layour of maximising production, the Government has ensured that our limited oil reserves will be exhausted sooner rather than later. This opens the prospect that the UK will be running out of oil some time in the 1990s when Opec (quite likely led by much more militant people than today) will be exploiting

a re-acquired stranglehold on world supplies. Britain's role is pivotal. As the sixth

largest producer (at 2.7 million barrels a day) we are big enough to affect any agreements to restrain output, the success or failure of which is highly dependent on marginal supplies. Had Britain decided to reduce output by, say, 600,000 barrels a day (which would have probably triggered a proportional response from Norway and maybe from other reluctant Opec members) then surplus output would have been mopped up and prices would have risen: quite possibly by enough to leave Mr Lawson's tax revenue unchanged.

By helping to bring about a very cheap oil policy the Government has worsened the outlook for the coal industry because competition from cheap oil brings down the price of coal, thereby closing more pits, which in turn means a heavier burden on the taxpayer for unemployment pay and social security. By pursuing a policy which will accelerate the depletion of indigenous oil supplies by the 1990s the Government has made Mr Peter Walker's claim — that Britain needs to rely more heavily on nuclear power stations in future — look like a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Britain's position, as one of the very few

ergy, means that a cheap energy policy is not, unlike other countries, necessari our best interests. Nor, in terms of oil, is it necessary in the interests of the wider world. Sure, if it meant cheap oil in punished by even greater long-term Middle East, the need for a far-seeing energy policy is merely underlined.

year to almost 40 per cent (compared with much more to energy policy than cheap prices.

# Le Monde

**ENGLISH SECTION** 

## A 'certain idea' of liberty

By Andre Fontaine

BARTHOLDI is no Michelangelo, Nobody would dream of including the good old Statue of Liberty, now 100 years old, among the world's greatest masterpieces of sculpture. Yet few monuments in the world are charged with such emotion. It is because for tens of millions of human beings its silhouette finally glimpsed through the fog at the end of an exhausting younge signified that the new end of an exhausting voyage signified that the new life for which they had so yearned was at last about

Their descendants have forgotten the heart-breaks and disillusionments that all too often followed afterwards. All they have to do is contrast

their own well-being with the harrowing poverty of these "tired . . . poor . . . huddled masses yearning to breathe free", to whom Emma Lazarus's poem, inscribed on the statue's pedestal, promised

happiness on earth.
But the copper Statue of Liberty that the French people offered the Americans was supposed to "en-lighten the world", not just the New World, As if our forebears had anticipated, at a time when isolationism - non-entanglement carried the weight of dogma for all of Uncle Sam's children, that a day would come when the United States would play a determining part in the continual struggle between totalitarianism and liber-

From Napoleon to de Tocqueville, Thiers and Marx, the greatest minds of the 19th century had glimpsed the role that America would play in the 20th century. They had appraised the immense power that its people would derive from the fact of baving a homefrom the fact of having a home-land, not inherited as is the case for most of the rest of the world's and objections of those who are less poopulation, but chosen, and cho-sen for its ideas. Better still, chosen for the dream it embodied. April to allow American bombers

sen for its ideas. Better still, chosen for the dream it embodied.

The "American dream". We have all been talking about it in the verbal tide set off by the anniver
were all tide set off by the anniver
were example of an already long sary? But have we noticed that the list of what Henry Kissinger in a phrase is used only in connection benign moment described one day with America? It has never oc- as "transatlantic misapprehencurred to anybody to celebrate a sions".

German, French, British, Russian.

It is not very effective to wax Japanese dream or whatever, quite simply because in all these cases it would be hard to find any identification between the nation and an

are not myths. The celebration of | sion and for his lack of firmness, liberty does not mean what it says for everybody; especially not for the people who lived in the country beginning of the year, has gone before the whites arrived there. Nor for the blacks, who could not have been brought in while six jority. possibly forget the fact that their former ministers have been ancestors were for the most part taken there by force as slaves, even if nobody today is surprised to see some of them managing the destinies of big cities like Washington DC, Chicago and Los Angeles.

See some of them managing the destinies of big cities like Washington DC, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Some of them managing the district figure in Canadian consersus achievements: growth last year, falling oil prices on the Canadian but subsequently turned away though falling short of projections, economy, a major district figure in Canadian consersus achievements: growth last year, falling oil prices on the Canadian but subsequently turned away though falling oil prices on the Canadian but subsequently turned away that ingular the price of highly controversial times like these is quite an excellent.

While making no secret of his



There is also the fact that the more people subscribe to the dog-ma underpinning the State, the pretensions — at least implied pretensions — to world domination, or at any rate world leadership, and take advantage of it to denounce the innate hypocrisy and rapaciousness of the White House Rambo is not quite free of this danger. In February 1982, he said: "I've always believed this continot even fair when you have not really grasped the root cause of these "misapprehensions" which is, properly speaking philosophi-cal. There wouldn't have been a

United States had it not become the meeting ground of men and women who put their loyalty to common values before all these distinctions so dear to the peoples of Europe. When you are so deeply con-vinced of them, it goes without saying that those who refuse to

share them are easily seen as laggards and killions. Even today meny Americans find it hard to understand why their cousins in the Old World prefer to live with their habits, their languages, their squabbles — in short, their history — instead of dropping them all for a marriage across the Atlantic. It is because France's attachment

less strong than that of the US that our two countries are constantly competing and cooperating with each other. Which means that despite all the bickering common to a long married couple, the union is

# Pinochet in no mood to quit

lengths in an attempt to counter the 48-hour nationwide general strike called on July 2 and 3 by the Civic Assembly, a body formed in April and comprising most of Chile's social and labour union

organisations.
Civic Assembly, which proposes

GENERAL AUGUSTO PINO- members of his own military junta CHETS government went to great General Matthei and Genera Stange. The two generals have, however, assured him of their "loyal support" during the next two years.
General Pinochet has other

trump cards. The leaders of the two main Opposition political groupings — one with a Christian

#### COMMENT

to transcend the differences dividing the leaders of the main Opposition political groups, advocates non-violence and passive resis-tance. With the threat of court action hanging over their heads, its organisers feel they have made a preliminary breakthrough and brought home the fact that what the vast majority of Chileans, whether of the left or the right. want is a peaceful and democratic

open-ended general strike to force Pinochet to negotiate or resign. Wide publicity was given to the watchwords of the July 2 and 3 strike. Radio stations with ties to the Christian Democratic move-ment recommended to their listeners to spend the two days with their families and repeated the Civic Assembly slogan: "All to-gether at the same time." The "nationwide general atrike" was made out to be the most significant protest action against the regime since the 1973 coup d'etat.

The two days of passive resistance, but also street violence, took a heavy toll — seven killed, dozens injured and saveral hun-dred arrested. The harshness of the repression enabled the government to prevent the demonstrations from spreading.
At first sight, the strike move-

ment would appear to have been less widespread than the protestas organised in 1983 and 1984. Anyway, there is no question of Pinochet taking notice of this latest warning. He intends to stay in office until the end of his mandate in 1989, and is even thinking of running for another term, a prospect viewed with some reservations by some sections of the armed forces and also by two

Democrat core and the other hinged on the Communist Party have not succeeded in hammering out a joint platform. The Christian Democrats are loath link them-selves to a Communist Party which does not condemn extreme left violence and sabotage. The Catholic Church deplores the violence, but no longer seems to be in the forefront as it was a year ago, and is busy preparing for the and is busy preparing for the pope's visit next year. The United transition. This was already known. They hope to be able to organise, before the year is out, an the harsh repression, favours a democratic transition, but appears to concede that General Pinochet could complete his term of office.

(July 5)



Pinochet trump cards

## Mulroney puts faith in his Quebecers

cisely liberty and which was con-firmed by generations of slightly less than two years ago. immigrants.

This idyllic picture has its dark side. The "equality of conditions" which so carried away de Tocqueville to the point that he Mulroney needed to make a retoday but a distant memory.

Poverty, violence and illiteracy Increasingly criticised for indeci-

greater the risk of seeing the State in question succumbing to the temptations of pride. Reagan-

nent was an exceptional place

whose destiny was exceptional. I believe our destiny is to be the beacon of hope to all of mankind."

Fine. Better have a Head of

State who sees himself as a "bea-

con of hope" than a self-acknow-ledged candidate for domination. But when you believe you have

been invested by Providence with a planetary mission and when you possess unparalleled economic,

military, cultural and media mus-

cle for carrying it out, you naturally tend not to be too particular

about the moral commitment and

attachment to democracy of your

docile allies, and on the contrary to

ideology.

The United States, on the other hand, came into being when its founding fathers subscribed to a fine eve of Dominion Day to make the eve of Dominion Day to make the eve of Dominion Day to make the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking office in the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking of the event of Dominion Day to make the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since the event of Dominion Day to make the even common credo whose basis is prethe most extensive reshuffle of his
ciealy liberty and which was congovernment since taking power
given different posts.

> very short time led to the resigna-tion of four ministers, the incident Contrary to expec helped to destabilise a government which had been triumphantly

saw it as the "focal point where all sounding gesture to regain even a Liberal opponents. Coming on top his observations came to end" is momentary psychological of previous scandals which in a new jobs have been created over

Contrary to expectations, however, he has not succeeded in reestablishing the confidence in Canada held by the world economic community, mainly the United States. Investment, which had shied away from Canada under As a matter of fact, sparked by misgivings about the effect of falling oil prices on the Canadian

admiration for President Reagan Mulroney refuses to follow the Reaganite policy of slashing social expenditure. And this is doubly nconvenient in that it prevents him from narrowing the substanhardline capitalists who are other wise normally well disposed to

In the difficult, times that Mulroney an English speaking Quebecer, is going through, he seems to be banking heavily on the few politicians from his native province who have always stood by him. At any rate, it is to Quebecers that he has decided to entrust such key ministries as Employment, Energy, Industry and Immigra-tion. Four of the eight new ministers come from the Province of Quebec. Which is one way for Mulroncy to show the Quebecers, who rallied to him two years ago but subsequently turned away

THREE drama schools - Les

Amandiers at Nanterre near Paris,

WARSAW - The tone was set at the very outset on Sunday, June 29 by General Wojciech Jaruzelski when he began reading wojciech jaruzelski when he began reading the report of the party's central committee. "Five years ago," he said, "an extraordinary congress was held in this hall. Today it is an ordinary congress that opens." The First Secretary's satisfaction matched what appears to have always been been his great ambition — to turn his country into a newest and are well ordered secialist country. normal and well-ordered socialist country where everything, including party congresses, had its proper place. In short, an

"ordinary" country.

On this point though Sunday was not a complete success. At the very moment Jaruzelski was addressing the gathering from the podium, thousands of demonstrators in Poznan succeeded in forming a procession to shouts of "Liberty, Rights, Solidarity" before they were dispersed by baton-wielding police. It must be said the authorities took a risk by opening the 10th congress of the party in the presence of the congress of the party in the presence of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Corbachev, on the same day as the 30th anniversary of the Poznon workers' revolt. Did they think that the police, with their long experience and highly developed tactics, would put down the slightest attempt to hold a demonstration, as is now practically always the case

on every sensitive date?
The presence of the Polish primate,
Cardinal Glemp, in Poznan would appear to have somewhat complicated the job of the law-enforcement authorities and facilitated that of the demonstrators the primate's arrival was in theory unconnected with the anniversary, even if Cardinal Glemp did refer in his homily to the 75 victims of the repression and the authorities' cynicism at

As soon as the ceremony ended, a crowd of 5,000 surged purposefully towards the monument erected five years ago in memory of the 1956 doad. Naturally, the police finally managed to stop the crowd's movement, disperse it and arrest a number of people. But the demonstration had in fact lasted half an hour, which is a long time in

Sunday evening there were still around 10,000 people in Warsaw to attend the traditional "mass for the country" which took place amid imposing police precou-tions. And this at precisely the same moment that the World Cup soccer final was being televised from Mexico.

These were perhaps only pinpricks on the by now thickened hide of the government, but at least they are a reminder that the



Mr Gorbachev meeting workers at a machine plant in Warsew last

which in practice is extremely difficult.

According to the socialist system's rules, it is in fact the Party which "recommends,"

hence appoints, candidates to all senior posts. General Jaruzelski is certainly not

thinking of doing away with the practice, but he would like candidates' merits to be

carefully judged and changes in assigning posts accordingly decided at every level,

from ministries down to plant level. This is

quite an ambitious programme, which, as Jaruzelski himself pointed out, will require

to continue with economic reforms, while acknowledging that they had run into major

difficulties. One of the prime goals — productivity — has made little progress.

But he urged that efforts continue to be

made and picked out the priority tasks for

the coming years — food, housing, educa-tion, health, environment and better income

In the political sphere, the general repeated his usual analysis of the '80s crisis

Solidarity's former members were honest

advocates of socialism who had been taken

explaining that the vast majority of

The First Secretary also stressed the need

much "firmness and tact."

past, the "extraordinary," is always just around the corner.

On the other hand, everything went off according to schedule, right down to the tinicat detail, in the great hall of the Palace of Culture. Soon after the Polish leaders and distinguished guests had arrived and Gorbachev was getting ready to sit down, there was a resounding fanfare of trumpets. The "central committee's flag" burst into the hall and was saluted with trumpet blusts from soldiers in ceremonial uniform. Coming from General Jaruzelski himself, who was in civvies for the occasion, it was a reminder that the army had rendered the Party a great service in December 1981.

Gorbachev, who sat on Jaruzelski's right and was introduced by him as a "great friend" of Poland, received a standing

The central committee report, which took Jaruzelski almost four hours to read out, did not reveal anything special. What the members of the State apparatus and the nomenklatura will basically note in it is the announcement of a large-scale operation to reappraise the cadres. The idea is to try to ensure that responsible posts are filled by people with the required qualifications,

other renegades." Ruling out all leniency towards the regime's opponents and once more branding the underground Solidarity movement's activists as agents of foreign powers, Jaruzelski referred to the possibil-ity of "giving another chance" to the "perpetrators of certain categories of crimes It would not be an amnesty (the word was

not mentioned), but a reduction of specific entences. For some time now there have been unofficial rumours that measures of clemency could be taken after the party congress ends. But previous experiences dictate caution. General Jaruzelski had once before promised a similar measure before last autumn's elections. In fact, however, all the best known opponents were excluded from the measure. At any rate, the authorities will have a very wide field to choose from when it comes to indicating who will benefit from reductions of sentences considering that the numbers arrest-

ed have been rising lately.

The First Secretary also hinted at measures to benefit those convicted of crimes.
This is urgently needed as Polish gaols are

heavily overcrowded.

Jaruzelski had some rather harsh words
for the United States, but considered against the background of the violent anti-American propaganda in the press what he said seemed to be "relatively" mild. Of all the West European countries, he expressed an interest only in Federal Germany nothing, apart from the revenge-seekers, he said, would hamper good relations between Warsaw and Bonn (the West German Social Democratic Party, along with Greece's PASOK, are moreover the only two Socialist parties to have sent observers to the

All the same he did cause a minor surprise, but in quite an unexpected area when he proposed that "all the Communist and worker parties" meet shortly "to determine jointly" ways of searching for

This is probably a skilful way of reviving the tradition - but only to talk about peace - of big world conferences of Communist parties that Moscow has not succeeded in organising for a long time. Public calls for such events made earlier by representatives of smaller Communist parties have gone unheeded. This would appear to be the first time that the leader of a big socialist country has put the idea forward and in Gorbachev's prosence, that is, with his

(July 1)

the drama department of the university of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and the American Musical and Dramatic Academy (AMDA)

and Dramatic Academy (AMDA)

— recently organised an exchange
of their respective students.

For six weeks, 22 Americans
worked at Les Amandiers (see
below), while 18 French students
of Pierre Romans, head of that
school, trod the boards on the
Californian campus or Californian campus or on

Broadway.
The scheme, financed by the French Association for Artistic Action (AFFA), had already been tried out in 1984, with an exchange between Les Amandiers and the O'Neil Theatre Center in Waterford, Connecticut.

The current programme ended on June 20 with a private perfor-

on June 20 with a private performance by all those involved.

The feeling among French atudents is that their six weeks in the United States were "positive but surprising". What did they best remember about their stay? A constant urging to "be positive"; dist-sodas and nizzas at dawn; dist-sodas and pizzas at dawn; giant toasters and some very fat, if contented people; battered old Chevrolets; fits of rage thrown by teachers of singing, movement, drams and musical comedy. The students were split into two

groups, with eight going to AMDA and ten to UCLA. So while some acquainted themselves with the dinky town of Westwood and the methods of the Actors' Studio, the rest found themselves caught up in the razzmatazz of "cocaine city" knuckling down to intensive singing lessons and nine hours a week of modern jazz and tap dancing, as

well as improvisation classes.

Although they encountered different working methods all the French students returned from the US with the feeling they had met what the Americans call "professionalism" - the art of controlling one's body and temper, humility, a tremendous will to practise hard, and an obsession with the public.

In a studio high above Broadway, Harry, who is in such perfect trim it is hard to believe he is 60, takes his students through a bourrée step: "You're not in a night club here. You haven't paid to get in." He smiles and pouts into a mirror: "It is they who have paid to

come and see you."

Delia Salvi, teacher of acting at UCLA, trying to teach a class, is always ready to pounce on anyone she hears whispering. She says she is shocked by the French students'

When the storm has blown over, have to let yourself go whatever not give his students marks, he of the students, "one is afraid of

simply directs them. Aspiring stu- giving oneself away, so one moves There was no real language problem, though chairman John Cauble called in an interpreter. Certain instructions hardly needed Romans does not expect his to be translated, such as "Relax" or students to be able to draw an "Feel your body".

students to be able to draw an "Feel your body".
exponential curve. At UCLA, on But the French students, too the other hand, as in all American stiff and too tense, sometimes had universitles with a fine arts de- difficulty in familiarising thempartment, the teaching process takes place just as much in the lecture halls as on stage. selves with Konstantin Stanislavsky's celebrated Method. which involves associating a scene with a lived experience and build-After two years of compulsory general training, students spend ing up a role by rummaging in one's emotional past. They were given a quarter of an hour to work another two years of learning about scriptwriting, costumes and set construction. Those who take

their way into an emotion.

At first they protested: "What?

Are we expected to take part in

A group of French drama students have been to the United States to try out the acti methods which have produced many stage and film stars. In exchange, some Americ apprentice actors have been visiting France and getting a taste of the dictatorial metho used by French directors. The result has proved both positive and unexpected.

# French actors get UCLA culture shock

By Laurence Benalm

Courses cost \$430 a term for

degree. It is not unusual to find the

Shakespearenn actor one had seen

on stage the previous evening sitting behind a cufeteria cash-desk the following morning.

It was all a bit of a culture shock

for the French students. Although

they managed to get out of classes

in dramatic theory, they were put through the basic training. This

involved daily warm-up sessions

where they had to wag their chins.

emit primal screams and let them-

selves go in every conceivable way.

"At first," says Vincent Perez, one

happens. You're not allowed to slip away or hide behind the actor's are 30 in all). persons. Here they want you to be seen taking risks. That's the positive side of the American method." Californian residents and \$1,700

tive side of the American method."

It is easy to imagine what it was like for the 18 young students when they arrived in the States: supporting the look that is now do Students work hard to get their rigueur in France - untidy hair, romantic rings under eyes, a wan complexion — they suddenly found themselves plunged into an atmo-sphere of artificial good humour and non-stop fun. That sort of experience is quite a wrench for an

The first sessions at UCLA wire stormy. It is hard to act like in obedient teenager when you are used, as one student said, to "behaving like an actor in

theatre company."
Pierre Romans at Nanterre does

dents are put through a rigorous

selection process: first they have to

send in a photo, then they are subjected to an audition. Of 2,000

who apply, only 20 are accepted.

psychotherapy? Not on your life'. .. "

"The Freud students sometimes had difficulty in

familiarising themselves with Stanislavsky's celebrated

Method ... What? Are we expected to take part in group

group psychotherapy? Not our life!" Gradually their misggs melted away under the glof novelty and excitement.

Seen from the stalls, the ale thing looked like a play wit a play. The actors would warap, stretch their limbs, whisper-out insults at the shadows. But the end of the day they hadeen softened up and were roady tart acting — "not tête-à-êt/but belly-to-belly" as they pu it. The methods used in AMI are

similar: "You're a cowboy Ingine that John Wayne is lokg at

you." At times it looked and felt a bit like a school playground. But the students had already been taught the basic lesson that a movement is no good if you are afraid of making it, that you have to forget the mirror to convince yourself. The Texan star Cherie Bennet, a

large pink apparition with plati-num locks of hair tumbling over her forehead, thought her French students were "terrific". As she watched them tucking into their chili con carne, she opined that they could well have a professional

acting future ahead of them. But, she added, "six weeks is too short."

Bennet pointed out that at AMDA 80 per cent of candidates are eliminated at the start, and another 50 per cent told they need not come back after one year. As at UCLA, courses have to be paid for - in this case \$6,000 a year.

One cannot help feeling that the French students, whose board and lodging was paid for, had been sucked into the "Bob Fosse system" - by the dint of fierce practice sessions, and of singing. by learning the lyrica phonetically Perhaps that is what they meant when they said the result of their

# Government runs into flak on nationality bill

THE "PASQUA BILL" Idraft bill agonsored by Interior Minister Charles Pasqua) on the entry into, and residence in, France of foreigners has yet to be adopted in parliament, and already there is another draft bill in the works aimed at amending the 1973 na-tionality code. The reforms, which were a plank in the joint election platform of the UDF (Union pour la démocratie française)-RPR (Rassemblement pour la République) and were confirmed by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac n his policy speech in the National Assembly, are still being ham-mered out at the Justice Ministry.

The extreme rightwing Front National jumped the gun on April 21 by coming up with a draft proposal for a thoroughgoing amendment of the 1973 code. The initiative, though it is less radical all the members of the Parliamentary RPR goes well beyond the intentions credited to the govern-

occupy the ground and prevent National Front leader Jenn-Marie Le Pon from scoring points? Or is it a bid to influence the government, if not to twist its arm? Chirac has already considerably

doubtless do not want him to 1983. Mazeaud, who is the RPR subject the nationality proposals to the same treatment. But it is mission, also wants to drop Article doubtful that all the signatories of Mazeaud's draft bill have properly read the text which in its present form could send the defenders of immigrants into a fury and give entrist members of parliament a

ot of problems. Mazeaud proceeds from the argument that jus soli (the rule that a child's citizenship is determined by its place of birth! has "lost its usefulness". He holds that such "involuntary acquisition" of na-tionality by the fact of being born in France was formerly intended solely to increase the number of military conscripts and has lost its

The RPR's draft bill allows only one form of acquiring French nationality — when a French citizen adopts a foreign child. All other applicants would have to go through naturalisation procedures and be "judged worthy" of French citizenship. All this would mean doing away with 25 articles of the code (23,24,33,37 to 58) and

amending some 15 others. In particular, Mazeaud is considering dropping Article 23, which automatically confers French citiparent when it is born in France. The provision is especially helpful to Algerians and "produced" some some RPR members of parliament 20,000 new French citizens in

mission, also wants to drop Article 44 which makes any child born in France of a foreign parent, who has himself been born abroad, a Frenchman at the age of 18 on condition he had not objected to it in the year preceding his attain-ment of majority. Some 17,000 young people took advantage of this provision in 1983.

#### By Robert Solé

The RPR draft bill also wants to

Acquisitions of nationality are that will cause the biggest uproar. automatic today, but : Mazeaud considers he is "moved providing for a sort of examination nationality code, This remains to

for the candidate without academic qualifications. The test will be designed to "determine that he knows French, French history and the institutions of the Republic." The foreigner "would appear be-fore a board" in conditions to be established by decree. Another new departure, inspired

by the United States, is the taking the oath. The candidate for naturalisation would have to declare in public and before the presiding judge: "I swear loyalty to France and obedience to the Constitution of the Republic. I pledge allegiance to the French Republic end the possibility of acquiring and renounce all allegiance to any nationality through marriage States, of which I could have

longer possible to become The naturalised Frenchman will French by making a simple decla-ration after six months of living but he would not be sure of together. The candidate for keeping it for all that. The RPR naturalisation in this way would draft bill in fact provides for the have to put his case to the following: The person who has authorities, but he would have no become naturalised French and guarantee that his petition would who is later convicted in .terms of be accepted. In naturalisation Article 79 by reason of facts cases (18,500 applications accepted committed within five years of in 1984), the authorities in fact can acquiring French nationality, retreject an application without giv-ing any explanations. reactively loses French national-ity." This is probably the clause

have gone through the dossier have noticed that certain articles of the code cannot he touched without setting off a series of modifications and threatening to upset the balance of the legislation One clever shift has been pro-

posed for modifying Article 23 which grants French nationality at birth) without really touching it. Does not this article also help child who has a parent who was born in a former French overseas possession? By doing away with this detail, only 3,000 to 4,000 Africans a year would be penalised - numbers that would decline prevent Algerians born in France after their country became inde pendent from acquiring French nationality automatically.

What will Chirac decide to do? A reform limited to the nationality code, presented as a way of helping the integration of foreigners ar forming part of the overall immigration policy, would have gone through fairly easily. But coming on the heels of the "Pasqua bill", it is likely to look like a another form of discrimination. The Prime Minister will need a great deal of skill naturalisations are very difficult," by the same philosophy as the says Mazoaud. "The former must government" and does not rule out be limited and the latter facilitated. But this does not prevent as the basis for amending the jority's most hardline members. 'Talk, talk, talk. And when do they sleep?

"WHEN do they ever sleep over here?" said Kelly Gibler, a Californian who spent six weeks in France as part of the drama student exchange scheme. In all her time in Paris she managed to see only the Eiffel Tower. The French, in her view, are bleary eyed, not very fond of drinking milk, and much given to endless discussion.

Out a scene or two in front of their teacher. According to one of the living in New York, who dances students, "in the States, the third eye doesn't exist." He was referring says he learned what "freedom of body" means: "The French are more choreographical, they're not actors' every step and indicates view, are bleary eyed, not very fond of drinking milk, and much given who follows the pauses with his hands.

"When Pierre Romans looks at us." John Lynch, an AMDA stu-

The first things that surprised the 22 American students (13 from UCLA and nine from AMDA) when they came to France were the way people would sit down and dissect the characters of the play, and the very precise instructions

The plays they worked on includ-ed Molière's "L'Impromptu de Ver-sailles". Ivan Turgeneu's "A Month in the Country", and Jean-Paul Sartre's "Les Sequestrés d'Altona", one of the best introductions to French theatre", according to John Berry, who shared the task of directing the students with Pierre

the history of the theatre as part of

their syllabus have to turn in one

dent explains, "you think he is painting a picture. What a difference! In the States, our teachers only give is guidance when we ourselves have made a suggestion.

The American students' second surprise was the way the French use space. "When they arrived here they had no idea how to move," says Romans with some vehemence. Fred Astoire's very own grandsons were apparently as stilled in their movements as robots; "They just made their exits and entrances, but nevér opened up." . ... lat.

Romans.

They had never got so close to the text before, but had simply played another myth has been exploded.

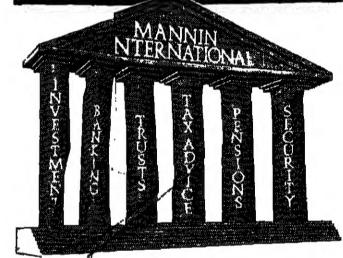
In France, at least thineaux is less expressive than, his or her retained a touch of miness.

Cartesian counterpart? If so, yet text before, but had simply played another myth has been exploded.

Patrice Chereau, and Anto Viter's production of Je Giraudoux's "Electre" at the Pris

It was by watching the areas playing Electra, Evelyne Istri, that he understood what the ple was about. "Her slightest mement was for me a piece of art, lit that kind of production would! Bo down well in New York, would be regarded as too vealistic. Reople hold themselves back on Broadway — perhaps be use that's Could it be that the "total" actor in France, at least thitheatre has

The rivate bank which poks after you



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your savings are protected and properly invested.

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FIRST OF ALL,

THE SWISS

BANK ACCOUNTS

THERE ARE

# Growing stugee proble<sub>1</sub> in the istmus

By Denis Hautin-raut

300,000 refugees in Central Amer- moso as its immigration laws ica, from Panama to Mexico, and arery liberal. About 15,000 their numbers have been increas. Niguans are on Costa Rican ing in recent years. Whether they are Guatemalans running away Salorans and Nicaraguans are from endemic violence to the closest Mexican point of refuge; is ated at the heart of the Salvadorans who have since 1981 con in the isthmus. been at the mercy of paramilitary

the symbol of this influx. On the concrete floor of the communal hall which has been turned into a transit camp, some 200 two-decker bunk beds are in place. Under a corrugated roof live 400 people with a few square yards of beaten earth surrounded by wire fencing as their only "garden". It is one of and si them in the camp. "It's contral America's oldest camps, almoshpossible for us to work in the closure, decreed many town, he said. "It's one of the times, has never lasted beyond a few weeks. "It's the ultra-temporary which is likely to last a long to reflect the take jobs away time yet," said a local UNHCR official.

Give this suation, more and

official.

These refuges, whose existence is recognised by all their countries of origin with the exception of Cuba, are concentrated for the most part in two countries. Costa and Honduras. For some years, Nicaragua used to be a haven for Salvadoran refugees whe have gradually become assimilated within farming cooperatives in this country which has a low popula-tion density. Very few immigrants are however arriving today in Nicaragua and the UNHCR there is helping hardly more than 500

people. The situation is different in

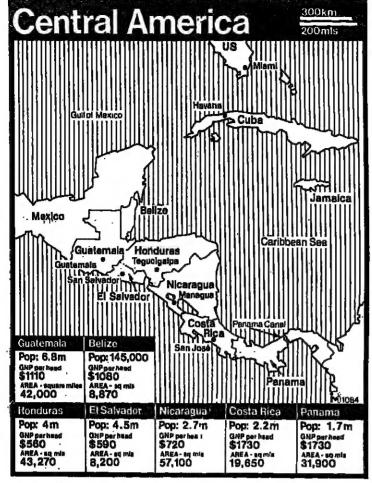
SAN JOSÉ - There are over agen influx of refugees, all the

seen at the mercy of paramilitary groups or guerrilla movements; or Nicaraguans now grown tired of a revolution becoming bogged down in an armed conflict, the refugees from the isthmus are causing increasing problems in their host countries, where the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is helping close to a third of their numbers.

The Boca Renal camp in northern Costa Rica looks almost like the symbol of this influx. On the Izese two countries, the first ing asupport this population indefely. There's no question of offerithem any more land."

Edulo is a 28-year-old Nicaratown,'te said. "It's one of the poorosparts of the country and the polatio doesn't take kindly

rying to keep a thter check on their borders. But, former Costa Rical Premier. Jenez Veiga, now a adviser, the new President Ogcar Arispointed out: "How do you expect "How do you expect! to succeed with 700 guardsmetwhere the Nicaraguans with 5,0 soldiers have failed?"



occasionally lead to incidents. Re- moreover accused of serving as cently, a search by soldiers in the rear bases for guerrilla move-Colomoncagus camp in the south of the country resulted in three deaths and several injuries. Nor the fighters. In fact, this assistance the Salvadoran military authori- own requirements. point that the UNHCR has taken the unprecedented step of setting up a group of two or three persons to patrol the border either on foot initiative which is creating inevit-

able tension. Political reservations are in fact the Sandinista government is "bogged down in its mistakes", but says Salvadoran President Napo-leon Duarte "is an admirable figure". One understands then, the big difference in treatment shown The situation is different in nave sueger

Costa Rica, where a long democratic tradition and the absence of an army provided for in the Constitution have always encour
Constitution have always encour
The refugee camps in the permanent by the army and frequent paols are carried out inside ther. These tempted to accept the "rebels" from one country and the other. The refugee camps are the other. The refugee camps are tempted to accept the other. The refugee camps are the other of the solutions, camp the other. The refugee camps are the other. The refugee camps are the other of the solutions are supplied to accept the other. The refugee camps are the other of the solutions are supplied to accept the other. The refugee camps are the other of the solutions are supplied to accept the other of the solutions are supplied to accept the other of the solutions.

does the army hesitate to turn is symbolic in as much as the large back would-be refugees from El Salvador when they arrive at the border. In April, a scuffie resulted camps in Honduras tover 20,000 in the deaths of several people and people) receive barely sufficent many others were handed over to food and medicines to satisfy their ties. Things have reached such a On the other hand, the camps

are widely exploited by the guerfor their cause - the living proof that their country is suffering from or on horseback and provide assistance to new arrivals with the Honduran authorities. It is an population has been forced to leave the country. And the various pressures exerted inside the camps by elected representatives are anpresent everywhere. Honduran other obstacle to the solutions President José Azcona considers considered by the UNHCR for the considered by the UNHCR for the refugee population — absorption within the host country or repatri-

"information campaigns". They relate, for example, how such and such a family's return home ended in arrests once the border was crossed. Others emphasise the exactions committed in the home country, but nobody is in a position to verifying them. An increasing number of signs asserting "No repatriation, no displacement" is appearing on walls and everybody swears "there's no question of moving away from a border

we still hope to cross one day."

The UNHCR is consequently having a huge problem organising "active camps", where the refugees, apart from having something to do, enjoy comparative self-sufficiency. The High Commission's job is made more complicated by the presence of complicated by the presence of many non-governmental organisations which in various ways take charge of the camp inmates. Giving considerable assistance, they are also occasionally the cause of friction with the local authorities. Soccorro International, which used to run the camp at Limon, has been evicted as a result of incidents. In the same way, Caritas could also lose its right to administer camps in Honduras.

It is the large number of problems — economic, military and political — involved in harbouring refugees, along with the risk of a new influx, that is worrying both the political authorities and the UNHCR. The latter is trying to persuade certain countries like Costa Rica to apply stricter standards in granting refugee status to

"But of course without setti up quotas," explained the UNHCR official in San José. As a matter of fact, there are large numbers of people who are coming over in search of a solution to the economic difficulties they face in their own countries rather than political

Hope is not entirely absent in such a situation. Salvadoran refugees at the San Antonio camp organised a big celebration to mark the anniversary of the first La Palma negotiations between representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and President Napoleon Duarte. In the eyes of many, even if these negotiations broke down, they from the children's drawings showing helicopter attacks and parachute drops; children who in most cases have only learnt of these things from stories told by their parents, but who also hope to go back home, even if they do not say

# 'The Sorcerer' returns to face the music in Buenos Aires

BUENOS AIRES — After four months of legal battles, the United States has allowed the extradition of José Lopez Rega to his native Argentina. From 1973 to 1975.

Lopez Rega was the last Perportation of the AAA. Lopez Rega was the last Peron government's agent and eminence grise. His entry into the govern-ment marked the darkest chapter in Argentina's history.

was "El Brujo" (The Sorcerer) own profit, an arms trade with trength self — this was the nickname given him because of his astrological "insights" — who gave himself up to the FBI on March 13 in the hope that Reagan's America would be pioneer Peronist — pursued an grant him political asylum in view unremarkable career in the federal

Under the terms of the extradition order, he is charged with misappropriating public funds and responsibility for eight crimes attributed to the paramilitary AAA
Argentine Anti-Communist Alliancer organisation, of which he is said to have been the head. This is the least of the charges facing him considering the auspicions hanging over him and the ... Under the pretext of hunting down commu-

Rega is alleged to have person. ly helped himseu to municus dollars from credits earmarked fo helped himself to millions

Born in Buenos Aires on October police, retiring at the age of 45 with the rank of corporal.

Peronist tracts, but also astrological works. His career blossomed in 1965 when he met Marid Estela Martinez, better known as Isabel, Peron, then in exite in Madrid. the third wife of : Thile on a visit to Buenos Aires.

she hired Lopez Rega as a body-guard and general aide. He did his job so well that she took him with her to Madrid. Three years later,

lega. In 1973, when Peron returned

By Catherine Derivery

trinphantly to Buenos Aires and Peroni government — but did cy and the worsening situation not ab don his post as the general's printe secretary. When Peroni The army, the Peronist labour Isabel's lesidency.

aged 52 he became the general's convinced. But things did not turn private secretary and used his position to hand-pick Peron's aides other methods. To combat terror-ism he set up — according to the Presidency and funds collected and introduce him to the occult is more set up—according to the Presidency and funds collected arfs. At this time Peron was in his for humanitarian purposes. He is seventies and ailing, and his wife also said to have organised, for his did not have the intellectual AAA. At the end of 1973, the crimes committed by proliferated.
The Sorcerer settled his scores

with "Communists", with the Peronist youth, and finally with all those who opposed him.
Oddly enough, Peron's death in

hachimself re-elected President.
Lopi Rega became Minister of even further but this proved to be Lopi Rega became Minister of even further but this proved to be Socia Welfare — doubtless the beginning of the end. Isabel most mportant ministry in the Peron's weakness in the Presiden-

al's prilte secretary. When Peron died in uly 1974, he naturally kept on il his prerogatives under lashel's brilders. against "Brujo's" esoteric Peron seturn was not the cure-extravagances. It is said he made all expect. The general thought is lie down on Eva Peron's he could icify his party's youth

during the general's last days, he ing to be Peron's source of life.
In 1975, a heartbroken Isabel

gave in to pressure and Lopez Rega headed for exile. He had taken up quarters in the Perons' Madrid villa when he heard of the military coup in Argentina in 1976. The new rulers, even though they look oven the AAA's men and n nonetheless put out an arrest warrant against him.

The exile became a fugitive. He dropped out of circulation for 11 years, most of which he spent in Switzerland — if his girlfriend is to be believed — where he has a bank account. The trial which will open shortly in Buenos Aires is likely reveal how much it contains

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THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1985

# The Washington 5t

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

#### Where Can We Find Our Mercenaries?

plation of Fidel Castro's Cubans and King George's Hessians as models for the kind of allies that the United States now needs in the

This administration, you see, has the containment of Soviet power very much in mind. Some parts of it also have very much in mind rolling back Soviet power, at least rolling it back from places where it was settled in the post-Vietnam years. But who is going to do the fighting that these tasks may require if the locals can't manage on their own?

The problem, for those who accept administration premises, is that Vietnam soured most Americans on foreign interventions. Richard Nixon then tried to rely on regional powers; the Shah's demise showed the limits here. Ronald Reagan has applied American muscle — indirectly — to the containment-rollback policy that sometimes goes under the name of the Reagan Doctrine; nowhere. however is success in sight.

Earlier, the Reagan administration did launch interventions. Grenada was a small success. Lebanon a medium-sized failure. But together they had a larger, unanticipated effect. They led Debecome administration law on interventions: the only ones permissible are the quick-sure things. In practice, that means no more interventions, though accidents and alarms can never be ruled out. The Reagan Doctrine plus the Weinberger Doctrine make for a truly bad matchup of ends and means. The first promises active

#### George F. Will

SEVENTY years ago, a world went smash. In a sense, we are still waist-deep in debris from (the 20th century is largely debris from) the battle that began at the Somme, July 1, 1916.

In 1919, the reading public was shocked by the title of a book: "The made possible by the immobile slaughter of the First World War." Surely, there slaughter of the First World War would not be a second. After the sound the world understood the second, the world understood the first world was sire. Somme, July 1, 1916.
A. J. P. Taylor writes that no

man in the prime of life in 1914 knew what war between the great powers - there had not been such a war since 1871 — would be like. On July 1, it was like this: Sixtythousand British soldiers were casualties; 20,000 were killed that day. (Twenty thousand is 40 percent of the eight-year U.S. fatality toll in Vietnam.) By midaway into the churned mud, the British had suffered 420,000 casualties, the French 200,000 and the Germans about 450,000. The Somme front was 12 miles long. Never was more than eight miles gained.

The war was a calamitous case to be suffered 420,000 casualties, the French 200,000 and the Germans about 450,000. The Somme front was 12 miles long. Never was more than eight miles fasined.

The war was a calamitous case to be suffered 420,000 casualties, the French 200,000 and the Germans about 450,000. The long that the war's out bland, with nothing to shy that we had not had quite a greater, in that the war's out bland, with nothing to shy that we had not had quite a greater and the warpons were abolished tomorrow, male undergraduates would find the stuff open-mouthed, go it comes that each of several nlion of the stuff open-mouthed, go it comes that each of several nlion barracks on Europe's central front exceptions.

The war was a calamitous case of new technology overwhelming old tactics. The machine gun suddenly gave decisive advantage to the defense. The old tactic of offense — slow advances by massed formations — amounted to trying to wear out machine guns tability of progress, the earth? Artillery, bayones, bullets.

with young men's chests.

On September 15, 1916, a new weapon, born in the fertile brain of Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, clanked

beneficence of technology, the wisbunded authority. That dom of established authority. That generation went over the top of the Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, clanked

beneficence of technology, the wisbunded authority. That generation went over the top of the Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, clanked

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beneficence of technology, the wisbunded authority. That generation went over the top of the poadering. President Carter spoke in his transport of the property of the poadering of the poadering of the poadering of the poadering. President Carter spoke in his transport of the property of the poadering of the po

WOULD you believe that the pursuit of ambitious goals, and the pursuit of liberty is taking Ameripursuit of liberty is taking Americans toward the envious contemshown by Jimmy Carter, would be denounced by the Reaganites as a sellout. The resulting policy tells friends and foes alike that, for all its bold talk, this administration will go only so far.

This contradiction has comforted some administration critics, who see it as a leash on adventurism. It has impelled other people to look for something extra to plug the Reagan-Weinberger gap. These are people who regard the Reagan effort to check and to reverse Soviet expansionism as of even more urgency and long-term importance than the effort to write a new equation for strategic arms. Weinberger's deputy for policy, Fred Ikle, leads the search. From his office there recently

issued a paper written at the Rund Corporation, the California think thank where lkle himself has worked, on "cooperative forces," Third World military units acting in concert with the United States. Katharine Watkins's paper conducts a typically sensible and antiseptic Rand discussion of the pluses and minuses of enlisting such forces when political or oper-ational considerations keep Washington from acting on its own.

No current names are numed. fense Secretary Cuspar Still, it seems plausible that, just Weinberger to luy down what has as friendly nations joined the United States in wars in Korea and Vietnam, some nations might now find it to their advantage as well as to the American advantage to resist Soviet power; therefore the United States might want to help them do so.

But a sharp difficulty arises

fought by young men, many of

whom, 40 years on, linger and remember. Not so 70th anniversa-

ries of wars. However, First World

War anniversaries also should be

noted because that war was worse

and greater. It was worse because

war on both sides in 1914 believed,

France to Paris.



Colman McCarthy

# Reagan's FavoritVelfare Bums unquestioned suppliers, what will the money buy? Part of the answer, and worth a detailed look.

ONE bonus came out of the Congress for and to theres. Nicaraguan debate: Ronald overbooked the corrug Why Rengan is no longer obsessed with wouldn't he? "I am a \( \int \)," he welfare abuse The administration has said. Elliott Abramassistion's favorite caseload of welfare tant secretary of state, also in burns - the Contras - has been the mood for political aution. found by the General Accounting "There is no legal bein nak Office to be rife with fraud, waste and mismanagement. we pay them," le Less than half of the \$27 million New York Times

in and ment for tood, clothing and medicines has gone into the contra jungle camps. Instead, it has been Americans whack for thing tracked to secret bank accounts in or medicine. B they re not seen tracked to secret bank accounts in the Cayman Islands, to the Honduran army or individuals or firms that the GAO, in generous restraint, said "do not appear to be suppliers in the region." It appears that everyone but Ferdinand Massacrassis and the secret bank accounts in as keeping filed trega from marching in Harligen. Texas nor are thosely more eque the Foundi-Fathers.

Presumi with some a million that half he new \$1.00 million that he new \$1.00 mi

ruin wrought by the first. The ruin

year war of attrition. Democratic

dictators that rose from the rubble -

"Idealism perished at

In 1984 and 1985, we had many observances of 40th anniversaries associated with the winning of the Second World War. Wars are

fought for no purpose as defensible history of Britain might occur

more serenely than any subse-quent generation has in the inevi-produced this scorchd social

suppliers what the dovimoney we pay them," la tady ad the

There is, however, kal asis to

when the paper starts scanning

Continued on page 16

Marcos was in on the scam.

Reagan, in his June 24 calls to the C as does end up with the case the case of t

southeastern Nicaragua. Forced marches up to 20 miles in the jungle were common. Diehl re-called that one of his abducted The Costs Of Avoiding Anothe Somme

friends "was suffering from acute hepatitis. We begged the Contras to let him go free, but it was useless. One day he was so ex-hausted and weak that he was unable to march. Then one of the Contras put a gun to his head to A second West German, the conventional forces of

was supplied the day before the

was supplied the day before the House vote. Three West German-members of a group of 12 civilian volunteers that was kidnapped by

the Contras for 25 Jays in May. the Contras for 25 Jays in May. came to the Contol to describe their time hers. Founding defferson, Madison and Unlik the Contrast to the Cont

Unlik the Contras believed

Frarguns were more persuasive

conscientious objector and medical student from West Berlin, was in

Nicaragua to help build houses in Jacinto Baca, a farming village in

Reingard Zimmer, a 20-year-old student at the University of Hamth totally militarized Soviet on would require permanent burg and a member of a Germancription of wealth inuclear apons are relatively inexpen-Nicaraguan friendship group, told of other Contra groups. One e) and young men on a scale went into a village. Two houses publics became hospitable to a at no democracy has been wilwere burned, five farmers and semi-pacifism that encouraged the .ng to suffer other than in warme. three children murdered. When Recently a U.S. senator was Zimmer's abductors heard the In 1922, a British writer said musing on the difficulty of explain"The most bloody defeat in the history of British writer with the lear weepons although now too." numerous, are not dispensable. Seven people were killed, The senator should say: If nuclear ing four teachers.

Funded again, the Contras are likely to widen their war on medical students, teachers and children. Reagan pledges that "as a condition of our aid, I will insist that . . . no human-rights abuses be tolerated (and) that any financial corruption be rooted out."

Soviet regime was but one evil consequence of the First World War.

The generation that marched to comes that each of several nilion ex-soldiers now reads with that marched to comes that each of several nilion vestment banking, out to first barracks on Europe's central front barracks on Europe's phrase has a soothing sound — On a vote of 221-109, Congress until you remember what conventional forces did 70 years ago. They killed men one by one; but with a \$250 million — for the Reagan killed men one by one; but with a pledge to be carried out: \$100 million to monitor human rights, \$100 million to stop the corruption, and \$50 million for the Cayman Islands bankers.

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# Worst Of a Worlds

IN RESPECT to the World Cor that the United States is violating international law in NiReagan administration has tried to have it both ways, to defend itself against Nicaragua's charges, but now it court's decision. First the administration looked as if it fecase was weak, and now it sounds like a paor lease. While it fecase was weak, and now it

sounds like a poor loser. This is ormance all around.

The World Court is not a course that it interprets and enforces a hody of law that contry of sovereign states. But, aside from the narrow range of cites agree to submit to it, it is a custodian of something rnational law" that is a recognised and useful standard ations want their policy to measure up to. Americans fount valuable in the Iranian hostage crisis, Only when Manag to condemn U.S. policy did the Reagan administration startult with its members and ways. The court did make a shan by taking up a complaint involving an armed configuration. involving an armed conflict. An confident administration, however, would have realised that od forum in which to reply.

Why did the Bear and the charge of the charge of

Why did the Reagan administ the chance? The obvious defense was that the United Statesting Nicaraguan guerrillas, is engaged in collective self-defens, government that supports Salvadoran guerrillas. But here thration has hamstrung itself by falling the continuing failure to make public the see showing a continuing caraguan role in El Salvador,

Common sense suggests that thelvadoran insurgency is not supported by mirrors, any more thearogusn insurgency is. The secret intelligence has demonstratagua's role even to many congressional critics of Rengan polificials, intent on protecting intelligence sources by the second congressional critics of Rengan polificials, intent on protecting intelligence sources by the second congression of th intelligence sources, have prevailthose pleading to disclose Managua's hand. It has always seen a political mistake.

But that may not be the control of the

But that may not be the whole of its reason to suspect that the administration's aim is not merelyice the regime to leave its neighbors alone but to remove it wer. No government could acknowledge such a goal to the West

neignpors alone but to remove it wer. No government acknowledge such a goal to the Worl

That leaves the Reagan administrath the worst of two worlds. It stands condemned for violating intended law, and the policy for which it is condemned seems a to produce its intended requirements of overthrowing the jists, short of direct U.S. intervention that the president insistes out.

# OPEC Isn inished

OPEC is a classic cartel, and classic care usually short-lived. One is reason for this was visible in the collapPEC's latest attempt to get a lock on its market. Manting of Chicagoppec's sumptious and a lock on its market. Meeting at Brigugolavia's sumptuous and decidedly nonproletarian island resort, OPEC's members were able to agree immediately to raise the price c But bw? The only way is to difference. The meeting broke up to acknowledge meeting broke up to acknowledge meeting broke up to acknowledge and all the oil difference. The meeting broke up in fage occupation, and all the oil ministers underlied retinues departed their value and private jets. The programment of the object of the pumping like matched their value and private jets. The programment of the object of the pumping like matched white greed and Does it mean the property of oil will remainly of white? Apparently, and that you ought to of oil will remainly of white? Apparently, yet. Be careful.

And that you ought to in speaking of OPE: In a past tensor for Saudis have been selling stead on Saudi Aralia. Facvoral years the maintain a high price in a world in wer smourts of in an effort to countries were producing more. Some chidemand wayling and other by producing more than their quotas. PEC's mem's were cheating decided that they were following the wrong sellow. The Saudis their production, deliberately pushing down price The Propose clearly the OPEC cheaters, while dissuading the industrial intries from allion barrels a day to 4.7 million in December. The we price went works.

What OPEC's other members think about it is secondary. EC's new competitors — Mexico, Britain, China — are all now product more oil these circumstances the cartel's international quarrels are intrable, at

ast for the present.
With their vast reserves, by far the largest in the world, the Sais can

With their vast reserves, by far the largest in the world, the Sais can afford to play a long game. As other countries deplete their reseas, an increasing proportion of what is left will lie under the Saudi description increases in consumption. It seems all but certain that supplywill decline in the next decade and prices will respond. More than ever, Saudi will he in a position to decide when and how much whom and decime in the next decade and prices will respond. More than ever, Sudi Arabia will be in a position to decide when, and how much. When pixes begin rising, it will be much easier to enforce discipline in the cartel. The Brioni meeting was an acknowledgment that OPEC is out of business by

# Finding Mercenaries

Continued from page 15 selected past uses of foreign troops, among them mercenaries of the 18th and 19th centuries, British 18th and 19th centuries, British Gurkhas and the French Foreign Legion. Then Cuba: "The Soviet-Cuban relationship seems to be the heat model for defining Cooperative Forces. Clearly there are some differences between this relationship and one including a democraty. However, the basic premise of mutual benefit still holds. The Cubans gain prestige or financial Cubans gain prestige or financial aid, the Soviets gain new, friendly

Now, it's only a paper, but it's off the deep end. #1986 The Washington Post Co. All rights reserved.

not any old paper; it has friendly Pentagon patronage. No doubt it would be convenient to have available the likes of the Cubans, East Germans and others who do Moscow's Third World bidding. But Washington does not have allies, or treat allies, like that, does it? The ties that bind peoples who are free or, at least, aspiring to be free, cannot rest on the hegemony the Kremlin thrusts upon its clients. An American policy that looks finally to the Cuban or even to the Hessian marcanary model is a policy cries.

#### Patriotism And Its Symbols

AROUND the dinner table in the New England town where I grew up, our parents would observe at just the proper time in our political discussions that loving our country meant working hard to make it more lovable. The flag, they would add, could take care of itself.

This advice did not keep their

their love of the USA.

"When I sailed past the Statue of reputation. and my mother wanted to exercise America's leaders, especially

By Ralph Nader

add, could take care of itself.

been overwhelmingly a time for
This advice did not keep their sales. Early elementary-school children from rushing down to the teachers have told me that when annual July Fourth parade on they raise a picture of President Main Street or arguing over the desirability of America the Beautiful versus the Star Spangled Bancar salesman." "He sells stereos." ner as our national anthem. Who has not seen, ad nauseum, the Commemoration of the nation's transformation by television and Independence Day was fun, and it print advertising of Lincoln, Franklin, Jefferson and Einstein It wasn't long before my mother — into pitchmen asking us to buy and father found an opportunity to furniture, appliances, insurance restate their message. They did and bank services? An executive for an insurance company named of many immigrants who were sensitive lest their foreign accents and customs seem to cast doubt on calization, saying he believed his company was enhancing Lincoln's

Liberty in 1912." my father once said to us, "I took it seriously." He powering the historical memory of

themselves become the deeds?

To me, loving America should

mean maintaining its public in-

cits in the world, a chronically

Destruction capability. There are plans for more and bigger missiles. There is also more fraud, abuse, waste and corruption inherent in a vastly larger military budget, There is also an appallingly weak conventional military capability.

But how difficult it is to question these national problems when the media and the public are daunted by a president waving a huge American llag against the Evil Empire. Manipulative patriotism is a feedstock for Reagan, which allows him to rise above account ability for his own policies.

There are good reasons to reject phony commercial and political expressions of patriotism. The for-mer debases a great asset for any organized society. The latte miguage that agent as a mechanism of submission and control - or, as recent history of other countries has demonstrated, as a method for collective madness and destruc-

The patriotic dazzle surrounding controversial issues also can shot circuit deliberate thinking and the

Early elementary-school teachers have told me that when they raise a picture of President Washington in class for identification, their pupils reply: "He's the car salesman," "He sells stereos"."

- not massage - their new among the younger generations freedoms on behalf of greater who grew up in a television age. justice and a better democracy. When was the last time a Lincoln's They were all too alert to the fate or Washington's Birthday was an of nations and peoples who wallow occasion for celebrating what these in collective praise at the expense men and their times accomplished? of exercising their rights against the abuses of power and the blockage of opportunity.

The 1940s were easy for patrio-ism. Against the backdoor tism. Against the backdrop of themselves during and between World War II, who wasn't a elections.

patriot? The '50s were the Elsenhower years, when patriotic feelartful master of patriotic ceremoing elected a wartime commander nies and rhetoric. Hurdly missing who, unlike men in that office who an occasion, whether in a sports never served in the military, rurely arena or on a former buttlefield, he flaunted their patriotism. The 'files tells us how much he loves Amerwere a reaction to the smugness wa. With a disarming flattery that and conformity of the prior 15 only a former actor could perfect, years. The challengers accused the he performs his "Miller Time" self-styled super-patriots of using politics. But shouldn't his oratori-the flag as a bandang or fig leaf to cal fervor be measured by actual hide shame, injustice and aggres- behavior and accomplishments? sion, particularly against minor-ities at home and the Victnamese might happen, have the words

For different reasons, Nixon's Watergate and Jimmy Carter de-layed the inevitable backlash — existing laws to advance the and return to patriotism - until cleanliness and safety of the water, the fallout from the Iranian hos-tage crisis spilled over into the supply. Loving America should waiting hunds of Ronald Reagan.

In the '80s, patriotism and its symbols increasingly have become media extravaganzas for commercial and political exploitation. Such shows and speeches, disassociated as they are from contemporary deeds and national missions, have become refuges for holders of have pushed our country into the power who seek to define and No. 1 debtor nation in the world, control the nation's patriotic senti- the biggest trade and budget defi-

The profitable hoopla surrounding the Statute of Liberty is more ing the Statute of Liberty is more and a slow rate of economic than show business. Organizing growth. far less democratic regimes cans with a responsive governabroad. How many of these children learned anything about civil and training assists to unemployed liberties and civil rights in our youngsters. It means law and yountry during this drive? The order against the powerful who

such linkage.

The challenge is to find activities in our own daily lives that and the freedom of information. It powerful idea, and one that should be defined by citizens, not by their rulers ilone. For me, the meaning of patriotism lies in working to measure up to these standards of in building a world where all humankind is our bond in pages. Charitably.

But what about his greatest (Ralph Nader is a consumer than the consumer to the consume of patriotism lies in working to make America more lovable.

protection of dissent. To be sure here will always be struggles over the symbols of patriotism. But we should strive nonetheless, to dis cern a kind of patriotism that is not an abstruction steeped i Our national political leaders, nostalgia, but a real, living mon-much like the corporations, view ment that can be judged by the standard of "liberty and justice for themselves during and between

Finally, if "consent of the gov erned" is to have any meaning. abstract ideal of country has to b separated from those who rule it otherwise the corporate and political governments cannot be evaluated by citizens. And it is the citizenry who must provide th nourishment for a many splendored patriotism that is open to all people to perfect in their neighborhoods, communities. states and nation.

Let one example illustrate this point: Much of our drinking water s contaminated with heavy me als, organic chemiculs and other carriers of silent violence to the health of millions of people. Sisce 1974, a Safe Drinking Water Ad has been available to presidents for making that water safer.

In tive and a half years, despite a duty and knowledge to act, President Reagan has not issued a vestment in highways, soil-erosion single contaminant-control stancontrol, forests and estuarics, Loving America is furthering the public trust of its public lands, its dard under that law. By a bipartisan vote of 94 to 0, the Senate recently sent him legislation with public airwaves and its public election processes. Loving America deadlines for issuing some major regulations dealing with drinking water hazards. He signed the bill is avoiding economic policies that with reluctance.

Unless citizens can turn national mission for clean drink ing water into a patriotic endeavor, Reagan is not likely to become enthusiastic. So latent is his sense millions of school children to col-lect quarters and dollars to refur-little Americans in need of nutri-water cleanup that it is likely to be bleb the statue was done in a style tion and health care. It means quickened only if it could be akin to the monument idolatry of loving poor and disabled Amerifar less democratic regimes cans with a responsive govern- of America's contaminated drink of America's contaminated drinking water is an international communist conspiracy.

A patriotism that has been narrowed for use by government homoters were not sympathetic to prey upon the powerless. It means and corporations asks only for such linkage.

a refusal to undermine civil rights, servile node or a burst of applause from its subjects. A new spe broader patriotism requires give meaning to our patriotic could also mean a national drive thinking assent from its citizent-slogens, and that allow us to define on illiteracy and its immense In today's era of proliferating our ove for our country through human and economic costs.

atomic weapons, if patriotism is a civic achievement. Patriotism is a How does President Reagan have any "manifest destiny," it is the civic achievement.

advocate. His latest book is The patriotic pride - the re-arming of off the deep end.

The corporatization of our nadard and Position of the deep end.

The corporatization of our nadard and Position of the deep end.

The corporatization of our nadard and Position of the deep end.

The corporatization of our nadard and Position of the deep end.

THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1986

## Remembering Entebbe — Fortune Favors The Brave

TEN YEARS ago, Lt. Col. Joshus Shani peered into the overcast African night from the cockpit of his C-130 Hercules and saw, lined up before him, the runway lights of

Entebbe International Airport.
"It was quite an easy landing." says Shani, now a full colonel and the air attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. "I didn't use any landing lights; it was a dark landing, which isn't a big deal. We didn't want anyone to see

The plane landed unnoticed, and what followed has become legend. Israel, acting boldly and alone on July 3 and 4, 1976, sent an airborne force of special commandos 2,300 miles across often hostile terrain to rescue 105 hostages held by pro-Palestinian terrorists.

The strike was quickly conceived and executed, it was "surgical," and it worked.

Within minutes after the first plane touched down, seven of the terrorists were dead along with 20 to 40 Ugandan troops, and the hostages, who had been hijsched aboard an Air France flight to Paris, were freed. Three hostages

"This operation." then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said at the time, "will be the subject of re-search, of poetry and legend." In Jerusalem last week, at a gathering of some of the former hostages and their rescuers, Israeli President Chaim Herzog described the raid as "Israel's shining hour . . . an operation that electrified the world's imagination."

Israel's action was widely applauded, but American presidents who sought to emulate it were less successful and less warmly praised. Jimmy Carter's raid on Iran ended in disaster at Desert One, and Ronald Reagan's bombing of Libya brought no cooperation from the French and criticism from many quarters. International terrorism, for Americans and others, remains a nearly intractable problem, and there may never be a success to equal Israel's daring achievement a decade ago.

Shani was a 30-year-old squadron commander when he piloted the lead plane into Entebbe. Aboard his plane was Gen. Dan Shomron, the commander of the in rubber boats and attack.

FOR 30 years, from the June 25,

1950, outbreak of the Korean War

until the late May 1980 Kwangju

uprising in southwest Korea, anti-

Americanism was about as com-mon in South Korea as fish in

trees. We were more than a friend

to Seoul, we were THE friend. The

world knew no more enthusiastic

ters have been torched or invaded

or both since 1980, and from

among 75,000 students in 300

demonstrations this year come

anti-American banners and slo-

gans — and sharply mounting

These student voices are those of

a minority, but no longer the tiny

minority they were two years ago.

A violent anti-Americanism has

swelled and continues to gain

ground even beyond the campuses. If the escalation of the last two

years persists for two more, the present regime and the 1988 Olympic Games, planned in Seoul,

will be shaken not by the forces of

the North but by those of the

South. The American relationship

violence.

Gregory Henderson

raid, and Lt. Col. Jonathan Netanyahu, head of the assault party that freed the hostages and the only Israeli military fatality. What follows is Shani's version

of events, which differs in some respects from other versions, the instant books and the TV movie. A tall, tanned, athletic man who speaks clear but strongly accented English, he tells the story in his ombassy office.

As he talks, he smokes Mariboros from a hard pack. On desks and tables around the office are scale models of warplanes and elicopters. On the walls are pictures of planes, and one picture of a black Mercedes. The Mercedes played a crucial role in the raid and was aboard Shani's plane, along with two Land Rovers.

By Phil McCombs

Entebbe, south of the Ugandan capital of Kampala in central Africa. They had been hijacked on June 27 aboard an Air France flight from Tel Aviv to Paris via Athens. There were 246 passengers plus crew to begin; by July 4, the day of the raid, only 105 hostages remained after most of the non-Jews were released. The process used to separate Jews from non-Jews was chillingly reminiscent of "selections" in the death camps of Nazi Germany.

The terrorists - perhaps in all - stood guard over the hostages inside the building, which was guarded outside by Ugundan troops. Ugandan President Idi Amin was all but openly cooperating with the terrorists, although when he visited the hostages and spoke to them he pretended to be neutral.

Israeli intelligence learned that on these visits Amin arrived in a black Mercedes flanked by two Land Rovers. Israel was making diplomatic efforts to solve the crisis. At the same time, preparations were going forward for a possible military rescue operation. The first military plan, Shani says, was to drop paratroopers in Lake Victoria, the source of the Nile, on which Entebbe is located. The idea was for the troopers to row ashore

tion, threats of American congres-

sional restraints on Korea's hefty

trade inroads and possible (though

characteristically exaggerated;

communist influence. But it is the

political perception of the nature of the U.S. military command over most Korean armed forces that

most fires student anger.
As commander in chief of the

circles, our hundreds of thousands mand, a four-star American gener-of aspiring Korean immigrants all must give permission whenever training of military hoodlums" or

command structure; as in 1961 and

armed forces that are deeply impli-

cated in Internal Korean politics

assent remains.

1979, or, when U.S. permission is inflamed the situation. The sought and given, involve Ameri-Korean government has used rilli-

can command consent in the tary induction or training as pun-

bloody suppression of forces seek- ishment for "unruly" stutents

ing democracy, as in 1980 in Secretary of State George Slultz's

Kwangju. Even when, as in Octo-ber 1972, the use of troops to during his early May visit a Seoul

enforce authoritarian constitution- was not only almost unqualified

al changes was too minor to but was accompanied by criticism'

involve command permission, sus-picion of an implied command incite violence" a sonce he

American command thowever two chief opposition laders to a qualified) over South Korean meeting with a subordinate, which

tempts to formalize that position These perceptions distort reality only increase the dangers of com-

Our government, our business Joint U.S.-South Korean Com-

would need spare fuel for the 15- They maintained radio dence. hour round trip, making it impossible to safely nose up high enough to drop cargo into the lake. "Also, we didn't like to jump into water," says Shani, "because that place is full of crocodiles, and crocodiles are more frightening to us than

terroriats." Suddenly, the time pressure was intense. The terrorists were demanding the release of other terrorists imprisoned by Israel and Western European nations, and it appeared they might soon begin killing the hostages at Entebbe. "We had 24 hours to plan,

rehearse and execute" an operation, says Shani. "In 24 hours the along with two Land Rovers.

The hostages were being held in an old terminal building at main runway?"

only way to do it is very simply. Why jump if you can land on the main runway?"

Somebody got the idea that if they drove up to the terminal in a black Mercedes flanked by Land Rovers, the Ugandan troops outside the terminal would think it ".as Amin and hold their fire, "And we needed just a few seconds of hesitation to let our people penotrate the terminal." The Israeli planners began hunt-

ing for a black Mercedes. "We tried Hertz and Avis. They didn't have one in Tel Aviv." Finally a cur was found at a small Mercedes dealer, but it was white, Israeli troops quickly got a can of black paint and painted it. "A very lousy job." But, when the moment came, it fooled the Ugandans as planned. Sham led the flight of four C-

130s. The last plane was nearly empty so there would be room for the hostages. They left Sharm el Shorkh on the southern tip of the Sinui Peninsulo at about 4.30pm, Israel time, on July 3. They went down the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, flying low to dodge radar in these countries and abourd Soviet ships.

How low? Shani pauses, thinks "Let's call it very, very low," he says with a smile. "Just very, very low." Flying low is tiring and uses a lot of fuel, so when they turned right over Ethiopia they increased alti-tude. Over Lake Victoria they

Why Koreans Turn Against The U.S.

Chun regime's 1979-80 takeover of

power and as the continued backer

of this "puppet" of our "imperial

ism." To us as well as to Chun is

increasingly ascribed a quarter of

a century of repression of democra-

cy within a highly educated nation

As anti-militarist sentiment

rises, moreover, the annual joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit

strengthened by releating the

Korean student perceptions do tarnishes the American name. At not yet typify Koreas public views, cal process on the repressive,

was then aborted.

aspiring to greater freedom.

A key reason for abandoning the went through a huge thinder plan was technical. The C-130s storm and that was hell iside." Israel did not alert other mions.

Surprise was everything. The flight took more thanseven hours. Shani landed at 1 am, Uganda time, "in a light rain with no moon and no stars." The other planes stayed aloft in a blding pattern while Sham brought the big military transport down in a quiet "combat landing". He stopped, and the commandos

jumped out to distribute strings of battery-powered auxiliary landing lights along the runway in case Ugandan airport officials switched off the main lights, "The tower didn't know we landed, says Shani, "The C-130 is a quiet plane, and they didn't expect anything."

He taxied to within 1,000 yards of the old terminal building. The Mercedes, carrying nine commandos including Netanyahu, and the Land Rovers rolled out the back ramp and sprinted toward the

The Ugandans held their fire The commandos "approached the terminal and stormed the building and then they shouled inside in Hebrew and English Everyone lie on the floor! Everyone did so except the terrorists, of course, and in a very short cross-fire the terrorists were dead."

The other planes had landed, disgorging troops who secured the area, began administering medical care to the wounded and got the

hostages aboard a plane. Then they tiew bark home. arriving in Israel about 9:45 in the morning on July 4. "Oh, the country was like a madhouse at this time," says Sham, "You could see the snowball or joy getting bigger and bigger."

was the high point of his military career. "Military missions, it's always a destructive job To do a military meration to save people, that gives you a real good feeling."

So what was the secret success? Shani tates a drag on his Marlboro. Simplicity, he says. And luck. And, "It took a lot of chutzpah. You know the menuing of the Jewish word chutzpnil?" (Chuizpah - effrontery, shameless audacity, impudence, "cheek"

student perception of the unpopu-lar Ohun regime as an American puppet. Our Secul embassy's com-munication with the student world

will boil over. A booming economy

of the late President Syngman

It behooves us to limit our forces

and command to sophisticated

weaponry and air support and to

leave all ground troops and their

command to the manpower-rich

should support more openly the lifting of the innumerable legal

restraints now enchaining demo-cratic elections in Koreu. We

should withdraw from an unneeded command position that

gives at least the appearance of interference in the Korean politi-

and well-trained Koreans.

Rhee, it is now archaic.

Both sides have recently further and leash the quixotic tendoncies

reportedly lost all effective

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with Seoul will suffer accordingly. manding without control. Many or seek to forware Korean coups. The writer served on This unrest arises from diverse. Korean students thus perceive the sources: small but rising corrup-. United States as the midwife of the toward democratization drowns in more than seven years. Department specialist in Korea for

undemocratic side.

No one can be sure that Korea per apartment LONDON and stock market bespeak confi-dence. But it is increasingly clear that the present U.S. command structure in Korea is an unwise and above all our military would a normal Korean combat unit is more soberly but more dangerous and possibly unmanageable politibelieve the same today. But all moved. Coups, which always inly, as the chief roadblock in North cal liability. Designed to intefour main U.S. Information Cenvolve such shifts, either defy the South Korean unification talks.

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By Douglas B. Feaver

Flight 007 on September 1, 1983, has joined arts will never be dispelled. One does the list of unsolved mysteries with an he to wonder just how big the national insatiable audience among publishers.

R.W.Johnson's Shootdown is at least the ss organizations, lawyers and others who fourth English-language book on the sub- re sought additional data. That wonderject; there have been numerous articles in its what feeds the U.S.-Is-Guilty-Group. learned and not-so-learned journals, and a like problem with Johnson's book is not book from reporter Seymour Hersh is due it he exploits this secretiveness on the soon. The word-barrage will doubtless contit of the United States. The problem is tinue as long as it is impossible to say how at the discredits his thesis with tinue as long as it is impossible to say how at he discredite his thesis with the Boeing 747 jumbo jet came to be more anformation of his own on points that are

the dispatch of the Korean jet on its strange a route KAL 007 flew. Others investigate

taking pictures, but as a "passive probe" it would trigger Soviet radar and surveillance has in international civil aviation." devices so that U.S. satellites and other electronic intelligence collectors could read capabilities they rarely "see". The United States did not expect the plane to be shot down, the theory continues. When it was, U.S. officials covered their roles with a massive anti-Soviet propaganda effort that included heavy doses of disinformation, all subscribed to by a know-nothing president who thinks of the Soviet Union as an evil

empire.
There is little question that the U.S. government has stonewalled on the issue of why the plane wasn't warned that it was off course. It seemed logical, considering what is known about U.S. intelligence-collecting capabilities, that somebody, somewhere in capabilities, that somebody, somewhere in the U.S. government, knew as it was happening that Clight 007 had strayed, even though the lane was beyond the range of civilian air coffic control radar systems. The U.S. respons is that information such as radio transfersions of the Soviet fighter pilots used in the vigorous

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SHOOTDOWN: — Flight 007 and the discolar propaganda effort during the American connection. By R.W.Johnson, communically on tapes, then recovered and inslated.

I the absence of a more thorough U.S. THE Soviet shootdown of Korean Air Lines in in Johnson's book and several other Flight 007 on September 1, 1983, has joined atts will never be dispelled. One does

the Boeing 747 jumbo jet came to be more than 300 miles off course, deep in Soviet territory. When it was shot down, all 269 people on board were killed.

Johnson's hypothesis, oversimplified, that U.S. foreign policy hardliners led by CIA Director William Cascy and National Security Advisor William Clark approved the dispatch of the Korean jet on its strange. soviet radar array at Krasnoyarsk. That radar is an alleged violation of the unratified SALT II trenty.

Flight 007 was to de nothing a sample on its strange a route KAL UUI new. Others investigate the case have duplicated ICAO's work. ICAO says that "each of the (simulation) quarios assumes a considerable degree of the of attentiveness on the part of the sample of the case have duplicated ICAO's work. Flight 007 was to do nothing so overt as tire flight crew but not to a degree that is nsiderable degree of lack of alertness and tentiveness on the part of the whole flight ew". Then Johnson tells us what a eat crew Flight 007 had. The effort is to

> Johnson asserts that the National Transutation Safety Board was ordered off the see by the State Department. I know from y own reporting at the time of the accident from rechecking since that that is irbagd. Under an international treaty to hich the United States, the Soviet Union, apan and Korea are all signatories, esponsibility for the investigation rested with either the Soviets or Koreans, not the safety board, depending on whether the wreclage camedown in Soviet or international water. Sacty board representatives par-ticipated ambservers in the Korean investi-

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Thursday (2:23 p.m. EDT, Wadnesday) the Korean
Air Lines pilot routinely reported he had increased
his altitude to 35,000 feet. CHINA Pacific Ocean Sea of Japan ake impossible something that has hapned many times, a misprogrammed con-ter guiding a carelessly monitored flight. 1st that scenario is the genorally accepted splanation among non-conspiracy Hakkaido JAPAN

gation, as is customary, but the United States was shut out of the Soviet investiga-

Johnson also finds highly suspicious the fact that Clark left the White House for the relative peace and quiet of the Interior Department almost immediatly after the shootdown. Reporters covering the White House at the time know that the exhausted Clark had been looking for a way out long mystery surrounding Flight 007.

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before the shootdown and the opportunity presented itself when former Interior Sccre-

Johnson is a fellow in politics at Oxford University. His book does not replace Alexander Dallin's effort, Black Box, as the fairest, most accurate and by far the most readable serious treatment to date of the

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# Somewhere to sit down

PARTIAL though I am to conversation with my great-grandfather, whom I meet from time to time under the old apple-tree where under the old apple-tree where be a mistake to suppose that he is the only one of my deceased relatives with whom I have close affinities. Aunt Polly, for instance,

has been in my thoughts lately. When I was a small boy she kept the village shop — the first shop, I believe, ever to exist in our small village. Before her bold innovation, villagers had to rely on occasional pedlars or on twice-yearly excursions to the town (2½ hours distant by carrier's cart), at Easter and Fair Day, for the relatively few commodities, such as Easter bonnets and chemises, which they themselves could not which they themselves could not

more enterprising of the brothers
set up a village bakery. That may
have been a new departure, too, for

became equipped with counter and

One of my abiding memories is of going into Aunt Polly's shop for

a ha peth of pear-drops and watching her bite a sweet in half to get

eggs, butter and potatoes (you got

those from the farms), or boots and

boot-laces (they came from the

cobbler), or mouse-traps (old Billy Medcalf made a type that were more effective than any I have

It was all very basic and primi-tive, but I have recently had

reason to reflect that in one respect

it was streets ahead of the stores

and supermarkets of 1986. It had a

chair for customers to sit on. It is true that Aunt Polly's shop seldom

had more than one customer at a

time, but that gave a welcome opportunity for a helpful little gossip. Aunt Polly had a chair on her side of the counter, too.

Thursdays are our usual shop-

hursday came round I was in some agony with fibrositis or

ping day, but the other week when

sciatica or something of the sort —

something I had never experienced

been able to buy since).

amused and finally bemused by the time necessary for buying tights, shampoo of the right mix-ture, and matching refills for

And this is when the absence of chairs in modern emporia came painfully to my notice. Here was a new supermarket, covering it seemed to me about six acres, and never a chair, bench or stool for the benefit of weary customers. Even mediaeval monastic churches, addicted though they were to inflicting penance on the flesh, provided misericords for legitesh, provided misericords for leg-weary choristers to perch on. But our supermarket designers are made of sterner stuff. Banks

Aunt Polly (who may not have been my real aunt, but no matter; everyone in our village seemed to be related) lived with her two brothers and an invalid sister and began shop-keeping when the

By Ralph Whitlock

there was a strong tradition of tights, all of which looked home-baking. I gather that most of the family gave a hand with the baking in the early morning, after which Usink delications of tights, all of which looked exactly the same to me. A mum with a child in a pushchair sank wearily on the step below. "They baking in the early morning, after which Uriah delivered bread by pony-and-cart to outlying farms and hamlets, Walter trundled a covered barrow around the village.

She even accepted my offer to look after the child while she went up to the covered barrow around the village. higher, though perhaps I don't look like a kidnapperi and Polly dispensed loaves to calling customers from her front "I just can't do it," said an In due course, the front room

elderly sufferer, joining us on the stairs. "I have a bit of a rest and

store shelves, as Aunt Polly widened her range of stock. She could supply candles, paraffin, tea, soap (yellow or Lifebuoy), loaf sugar, matches, black lead, boot polish, pegs and sweets kept in big class iars in full sunlight.

Inch go Linea go patronised has those basic facili-ties which ours lack. They have coffee shops or restaurants; and well-equipped toilets where a ing her bite a sweet in hall to get the exact weight! The other half went back in the jar. There was, of went back in the jar. There was, of can be left until the shopper is ready to go to the car.

Where the stores are on more than one level escalators are universal, but if they were not I feel sure that assistants would be on hand to help mothers with push-chairs upstairs. The only way you can attract the attention of staff in a British supermarket is to try a bit of estentations shop-lifting.

Come back, Aunt Polly, you would be welcome to half my pear-drop in return for a hard-bottomed chair to take the weight off my

There is one remedy for these glaring deficiencies in service to the customer. It is a planning application for a new hypermarket. Hypermarkets have a reputation for providing all the missing amenities, including a spacious car park, well outside the

before and don't want to encounter At the very hint of a new one again. With my wife still somecoming their way, all the town what incapacitated by her traumatic illness of two years ago I
need to attend her on these shopping expeditions as chauffeur,
guide-dog and beast of burden.

I rather enjoy industries. guide-dog and beast of burden.
I rather enjoy indulging myself
extravagantly at the food shelves,
but in the departments which sell

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Mystery and imagination

masterwork is a 15ft long Emblematic Scrawle covered in vomit-ing dragons and defecating frogs. What is Rippely doing in the world's most famous modern art event? He is involved in an exhibi-

tion called Art and Alchemy, one of the series of quasi-scientific exhibitions that are supplying this year's show with its overriding heme: Art and Science.

One of the few immutable laws at an event which always seems to be changing its regulations (prize-giving has been brought back this year for the first time since it was year for the first time since it was stopped by student unrest in 1968 is that whatever seems to be going on in contemporary Italian art the corresponding Venice Biennale will somehow find an historical exhibition to legitimate the activities of those young artists.

Last time out the main theme, Art About Art, corresponded perfectly with the endless quotations from the past employed by Italian pseudo-Mannerists. This year the prevailing style is Neo-Surrealism: a typical young Italian picture of today will show a skull that turns into a snake which bursts into flames in a landscape made of

Waldemar Januszczak at flames in a landscape made of lizard skin, the whole littered with

numbers arranged, of course, in the Fibonacci Sequence (where each number is the sum of the preceding two, e.g. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13 . etc.) Mystery, uncertainty and mutation are the main currency of

today's art. The Art and Alchemy exhibition is a huge, fertile mess made up of old art, new art, painting, installation, sculpture, all arranged according to an alchemical system which I am afraid defied this observations and neo-classical. particular mind's attempts to fol-

The Aim: Reconciliation of Oppo-sites, is the title of a section which does indeed manage to include a does indeed manage to include a buren has won the award for the pornographic drawing of Felicien best presentation. Buren has re-Rops, some steel plates by Carl sorted to his usual deckchair Andre, and comic-book characters stripes, articulating walls and ceilby American Graffiti painters. The Means: Love is Knowledge, is more legible, being packed with fine nudes by Picasso, Giacometti, Delvaux, Dali. The most important section seemed to be entitled The Path: Knowledge is Freedom. I could not tell where it started and the rest of the show finished.

the rest of the show finished.
Art and Alchemy's main conten-

tian Wunderkammer turtles fly turn into portraits of human beings, exorcised deviles sit trapped in tiny crystal bottles, motor bikes views of the leading to the studio.

His early positive program of the leading to the studio. grow horns.

Elsewhere the relationship between Art and Science becomes much more strained. Art and arranged in bottles. Science For Art is housed in the Accademia Gallery and is basically a giant advertisement for the Olivetti personal computer which is seen everywhere in front of Giorgione. Tintoretto, Titians and Veroneses, buzzing, whirring, analysing data and generally getting in the way of the paintings.

Out in its gardens among the national pavilions, away from monstrosities in test-tubes and yapping computers, the Biennale returns to normal. The Egyptians

the Venice Blennale

are still showing extensive collections of businessmen's nick-once again. Dutting the naked thuman figure through all kinds of physical indiginities. The American explosion of fierce figurative anti-American politics. American politics.

American politics.

Back at the turn of the century, when the Biennale started up, the three main colonial powers, Britthey still sit perched on a hill together and still share out the

main prizes among themselves.
In the French Pavilion, Daniel Buren has won the award for the

the rest of the show finished.

Art and Alchemy's main contention is that the artist and the alchemist are one and the same thing. The work of art is a crucible in which anything can happen.

Opposites can be reconciled. Based metals can be turned into metals can be turned into metals phorical gold. In other words the artist, like the alchemist, is a mini-god with the power of transition in his hends. Having counted.

Auerbach shares the best artist prize with the German, Sigmar Palke. Polke too has made an installation out of the entire pavilion, involving different paintings in different styles and scales, crystals, rocks and sculpture; Creation would be the best word to describe the artist, like the alchemist, is a minimal properties.

Golden Lion as the best artist, and that George Ripperly has been given an important role in the Biennale's main theme show.

I do not imagine that Ripperly ever believed he was going to find himself at Venice. To begin with he is far too old, being a 17th century English alchemist whose masterwork is a 15ft long Emum of Strangeness. In the Vene- working, decisive investigation of themes. These he has pared down from the ceiling, apples and pears to two the human figure and turn into portraits of human be-

> His early portraits are so thick with pigment that they flutter between painting and relief; the likenesses of the sitters are buried deep inside, and have to be inined for. In his recent landscapes the Biology contains a portrait of Marilyn Monroe made out of different coloured foetus-like objects summaries of shapes. Who would have thought that the brooding portraitist who begins the show would end it as a master of yellows, as surprising as a field of rape, and reds, as exhilarating as a

> > For me the exhibition confirms Auerbach's status as the greatest English painter, more substantial than Freud and less glib than

While there is much of interest buried among the toads and com-puters of the Art and Science shows, and the standard of the national pavilions is distinctly high, the Biennale's major diappointment is its Aperto section for artists under 40. Venice's main

talent spotting show. This year's Aperto is smaller than before and lacks any coherent groups of artists to match the Graffitti boys of 1984 and the neo-

classicists of '82. John Murphy's rather sad frag-

ments of Raphael drawings trapped in gentle abstract planes. like files in amber, are too sensi-tive for the hurly-burly. I had previously thought of Liss Milroy's still-lives as softly-spoken, but her colliberty

collections of melons and Roman coins arranged for inspection are as assertive as billboards.

The major British success of the Aperto was Boyd Webb, whose photographic tableaux plays such impish games with the laws of physics. Webb has become something of a colourist, providing a sweeping groen earth out of which grows a sheaf of golden corn and a white sprig of musical score. Elsewhite sprig of musical score. Elsebeen peeled like an orange, a kisscurl of its peel crowning a Cycladic head hanging in space.

Mystery and uncertainty . . all over the Biennale you can hear the clanging of axes as human heads are grafted onto animal bodies, and the rush of fire as toad's legs, sulphur and crucifixes are thrown into the alchemiat's crucible. With Boyd Webb's art you can barely distinguish the swish of the surgeon's knife as it makes it subtle ncisions into reality.

The Venice Biennale until Sep-Kokoschka denied justice

reer," but your bilious Mr Januszczak is clearly not he writer to make it (June 22).

In a half-page devoted mostly to vapid gossip about Kikoschka's life, plus a few dismissive comments on unrepresentative paintings, Mr Januszczak reforms the startling feat of important attents. startling feat of ignosing altogether the chief glory of Kokoschka's occurs—the marvellous city portraits and other landscapes, between 1910 and 1980.

"Times seem perfect or a to conclude that Kokoschka pro-reassessment of Kokoschka ca-duced "many interesting paintings duced "many interesting paintings but no masterpieces."

"No masterpieces." Not the Tate
Polperro (1942), the Great Thames
View (1926), the superb Jerusalem

(1928), the Prague paintings (1935-38), the Hamburg Harbour (1951), Manhattan (1979), and countless others? Or, in figure-studies, not the Tempest (1913), Knight-Errant (1915), the Power of Music (1926) and many others? Mr. Januszczak's guidelines about Kokoschka's portraits ("Ko-This omission allows Januszczak i koschka was drawn irresistibly to

dirt and disease") is amply exposed and refuted by the glowing paintings of Lotte Frauzos, Auguste Fokel and the Tietzes, in the Vienna period, and those of Masaryk, Casals, Maisky and Stanley Unwin later on,

I can only hope that his jaun-diced views do not keep a single visitor from seeing the works of a very great and enduring 20th Century artist at the Tate.

Alfred H. Katz. Los Angeles, California.



Ross Car Rental S Dickerage Lane New Malden, Surrey KT3 3RZ, England Tel: 01-942 7756 Telex: 27950. ref: 605

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THIS is Colin Davis signing off as aging and congratulations Covent Garden's MD. And how! are athose performers like His new Fidelio, the last production Davis is launching in 15 McLa as Mazzelline and disappointing years, is a catastrophe. Andrei Serban's staging, which I found passable though frenetic and overloaded in the first disappointing years, is a catastrophe. Andrei Serban's staging, tried mine musical vitality in gringing with nervous jumpjuring of the domestic and overloaded in the first jumpjuring of the domestic and overloaded in the first proved both a commercial and critical success.

The film is an odd mixture, act, took a nose dive during the interval, culminating in a farcical Gillray-caricature-like charade for the last scene that provoked hoots of derision when a black-winged Beelzebub on stilts enclosed the guilty Pizarro in its wings. This certainly was the funniest Fidelio

Unfortunately, Davis opted to meet the incompetent and fitful sequence of tabloaux from which Serban constructed the second-act staging by slowing what was already a sombre, stolid, very tentonic but persuasive interpretation to snail's pace, playing for serious-

ness. And he insisted — in mistak- an acole exploitation of mod-

Tom Sutcliffe at Coveniden

en deference to Beethoven's musical genius, and disregarding the composor's careful dramatic revisions — on inserting the Leonore III overture in the middle of the second act, giving Serban the opportunity for the lamest, most futile, and repetitive mime of the story in front of the giant cut-out of Beethoven's death mask. (In fact Davis conducted this misplaced overture very beautifully, almost serencly, despite what was hopponing on stage, and the orchestra played it superbly.)

Otherwise, the second act plodded on its weary way at a pace that allowed the chorus not only time to breathe in their joyous terminal paeans something Beethhoven scarcely considered necessary) but

scarcely considered necessary) but time to giggl at the farrago in which they were necessary but the farrago in. The tragedy is the farrago in Fidelio for his farewe. Davis was opting for a work he los and as an interpreter — well show. The first act was lovingly conditioned to utilike a treasured relic, and the orchestra (whose quality Davis has during his tenure maintained and improved) responded strongly.

#### A man's war of liberation

ROBERT HOLMAN has always Whitechapel and is illustrating the feeling: in the next play. Lost, he tion that seemed invented rather uneven in impact but the collective Southerner. title, Making Noise Quietly, offers But Holman's virtue is that he a good definition of Holman's effort puts people first, messages second, she his not seen for five years and stated but which often has a depth Quaker's buried urge to enlist only

Friends, easily the most riveting.
Two young men meet in a Kentish excellently played by Jonathan field in July 1944. One, a Quaker Cullen as the shy pacifist and

scene rban's realisation.

Senave an impression of fluented determination. charsing Jaquino with more sympand clarity than usual. But I was a diversionary extrace of means for the perfecto contend with, flown in antages of hope, cages full of mof prisoners, Joke Jaquino finding his

door jed in the square grey brick same as unpretentious relief. s prepared to tolerate the opnistic use of bald wigs and clids with the prisoners, thoughignified and phony, as

ern Gin stage cliches. But it

was thelements that swamped the neic domestic vision which Serbairted. Theias excellent work done from Faut Welker, as a Pizarro forevershing his hands from a little t bottle in his breast pocket) lker sings the impossi-ble pairy well, though he is a bit ligon the bottom notes. James g as Florestan, though a vetera sounded impressive enought not very heroic. Of all the chiters he was the most disturbly the disastrous staging since ) only features in the appalliment ignominious second

The n vocal problem with the HAVE a glass of champagne and a show ishe casing of Elizabeth Connell's Leonre. Though she

during his tenure maintained and improved) responded strongly.

Davis's pace was, I think, a good deal more deliberate than the last revival he conducted here of the work. If anybody doubted his credentials they would surely have marvelled at his management of the duet between Rocco and Pizarro, perfectly structured by Dnvis, its dramatic intention ideally realised.

But at the dramatic heart of the work, the great ritual of Leonore's self-sacrificial gesture seemed becalmed by the sheer incompetence and tedium of Serban's staging.

On paper this looked an encour-

ROBERT HOLMAN has always shown a greater gift for atmosphere and dialogue than for dramatic structure. So it was a bright idea of the Bush to commission him to write three short loosely-lined all revolve which all revolve. Whitechapel and is illustrating the feeling: in the next play. Lost, he signs of the Zudiac for Vogue. As in this RSC play, Today, Holman pins down beautifully the growth of tentative friendship between men of different backgrounds and the linear play. Lost, he signs of the Zudiac for Vogue. As in the next play. Lost, he signs of the Zudiac for Vogue. As in the feeling: in the next play. Lost, he suggests that the moral muddiness of the Forest in August 1986 and find a special property of the representation of the feeling: in the next play. Lost, he is RSC play, Today, Holman pins of the Falklands conflict fostered to processe. It is not that seemed invented rather the inevitable. We are in the Black for the Falklands conflict fostered to processe. The feeling: in the next play. Lost, he is gifted in the lined plays which all revolve inquisitive envy of the repressed, around brief encounters shuttered by war. The three plays are man freedom of the privileged

which is oblique, gentle, under- and it is fascinating how the thurge effect.

I found the first play, Being a liberated spirit. John Dove's

CLAUDE MILLER, the French director, has never realy sustained the promise of his first two fea tures - The Best Way To Walk and This Sweet Sickness, both of which were shown here. He has, it fact, only made three other films in a decade. But fortunately the fifth

The film is an odd mixture, looking at times like a fairly crass
French pot-boiler, what with its
absurd picture frame ending and
the slurpy theme tune. But often it gets to grips quite charmingly with its main theme of tribulations of adolesence. The best of it is so good that the dross comes as a most unpleasent surprise.

The impudent girl is Charlotte. a-13-year-old who can't wait to grow up, suddenly finding her own little world insufficient. She hates her provincial life and visits her pleen on everyone around her, including her long-suffering step-mother and Lulu, faithful but still childlike friend. When a young musical prodigy comes to town, she is rivoted with admiration, even though the prodigy clearly needs a boot on the bum and isn't about to get it from the sycophants and

angers-on around her. The child in Charlotte fantasises about becoming the musician's manager, latching on to the loneli-ness of the long-distance careerist. The adult in her discovers that it is

only a fantasy which she has to step over to grow up and besides, true friends are those who stick by The revolation of the film lies in A devil in the heart

**CINEMA by Derek Malcolm** 

with a devil on one shoulder and an angel on the other, like most recalcitrant pubescents.

The film has been compared to a Carson MacCullers story and it certainly has the same edge and irony that MacCullers sought and usually found.

Excellent performances too from Bernadette Lafont as the step-mother, and Julie Glenn who m simply does not need it. If you watch Kim Basinger's performance in Fool For Love you

will not recognise the edgy performance of Adrian Lyne's 91/2 Weeks. She is a whole class better for Robert Altman, who asks her to seem, and Altman's straight-on expose not her body but her talent approach emphasises that fact to in his imaginative if uneven adap- some effect. tation of Sam Shepard's play. She has Shepard himself opposite her rather than Mickey

Rourke, which is in itself an improvement. But it is essentially a matter of a director instinctively The revolation of the film lies in its shrewd observation of provincial French family life and, most of to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot to the full in a series of tightly shot should be a series of tightly shot the same as graphing as a

and edited scenes. The acting, perhaps, is the best part of the

tation.
Once again, as he determined with Jimmy Dean, Streamers, and the extraordinary Nixon film, Se cret Honour, Altman makes little all, in the amazingly truthful attempt to open the play out, which performance of Charlotte Gains- is both an advantage and a disadbourg who took the part in her school holidays. Don't expect a cause the piece has thus survived on its own merits, and a disadvantage because in this case it never quite does so, needing something extra on the screen which doesn't materialise.

The only real change is the introduction of Harry Dean Stanton's drunken father as a kind of Banquo's Ghost, almost commenting on the story as it goes along and, because it is Stanton, with some style. This time round equals Gainsbourg as Lulu. The he is the link with everything as charm, by the way, is not of the ingratiating kind but seems to be gas station fights fate for the man born of real experience. What a she loves. Her lover is the same pity Miller has been persuaded to gild the lily here and there. The seen before in pretentious American movies. But this time I don't find much to cavil about.

It is actually about simple people striving to contain themselves in a very complicated world where things are never quite what they

Even though far from perfect, Fool For Love, which also has a marvellous cameo from Randy Quaid as the outsider who steps into the relationship and gets stung, is about twice as gripping as

#### Bubbles and peaks TELEVISION by Nancy Banks-Smith

slice of sponge cake, do.
In 1871 the rather aptly named
Lucy Walker, an Englishwoman,
was the first woman to climb the Matterhorn. She trained in a crinoline whose only obvious advantage is that if you fall you may float. By the time she climbed the

Matterhorn the fashion was for petticoats, pantaloons, bustles and vhalebone stays.

white rhino of a mountain frozen in ice, only its snowy horn showing and, as Lucy, Jenny Seagrove whose face lights up and shines as if she had stuck her toe in an electric socket.

The entertaining Walkers, happily based, I am sure, on the Bennets of Pride and Prejuidice, were one of those rare families with whom you would happily spend a holiday, even allowing for the cook they employed out of kindness because no-one else would Her Brown Windsor may have been primeval soup for it seemed to have things growing in

This is Lucy's Mr Bennet-like father: "It is a very bad notion to show a young man you are clever." and her Mr Collins-like flance: "She will bleed from every orifice. It is dreadful to envisage." My only complaint is that Lucy Walker, who may or may not have been beautiful and charming was cer-tainly high-spirited and financialexactly this quality. Lightness, sparkle and lift. It was, for one thing, lovely to look at. The old

THEATRE by Michael Billington

Jue, 1982 and a mother learns from a visiting naval officer that her son has been killed on the Clark of the boy. Somewhere Glanggan. She pours out all her piled p resentment of her son who she by not seen for the son who she by not seen for the son who is surrogate further to the boy. Somewhere undernoath it is lurking, I suspect, a point about the need for the seen for the seen for the source. a point about the need for mutual whose educated brilliance has clearly urned him into a horrify-ing snob But Mr Holman saves his forgiveness which the woman, a victim of the camps, has obviously

Helen Ryan, Paul Copley and knockoutpunch to the end with a suggestio, that we dare not admit, that our Fuklands heroes died in a complaint about Mr Dove's Two young men meet in a Kentish excellently played by Johnston and Iteld in July 1944. One, a Quaker Cullen as the shy pacifist and conchy working on a local farm, is sexually and morally insecure: the other, bright, gifted and homosexual, has a novel due out in that the moral clarity of the last autumn, an exhibition at the war led to the revelation of real and the control of the last satisfying: it makes noise glamorously and presents a situation.

In the play, Mr Holman implies that our fulklands heroes died in a dubious case. Well-played by Jean Boht and Jonathan Coy, this permanant woodland surrounding. Oddly enough, the title play is the least satisfying: it makes noise glamorously and presents a situation.

Weldon gave him nothing between the ears but his nose ("Only yesterday one of my patients remarked she had never seen so straight a nose") for it reflects on Lucy's intelligence.
It is a bit of bad of luck that this

exhilarating feminine fizz, being one of three plays about climbers should have gone out under the generic title Mountain Men. There seems to be a rollicking bad taste and tarara-boom-de-ay about Australia which defents all attempts to produce a bland soap

opera. Like a galety girl trying to move in the best circles, gusto keeps busting in. Consider Dennis in Return to Eden (ITV), the son and heir of Steff Harper, "the richest woman in the world." Dennis seems a bit on the short side so his trousers wrinkle around his ankles. His number plate is 4 PLAY and his

underpants are purple, we know

because he is caught in

flagrante with a fan dancer. Dennis is a particular favourite mine because (as with many men called Dennis oddly enough) people keep telling him to shut up. "Shut up. Dennis. . . . Dennis, will you shut up." When all else fails. they hit him with a hundbag. He is lured without difficulty to a low dive and photographed, as Jake the villain puts it, "dancing with a feather duster." The richest woman in the world who is th woman to inspect a blast furnace wearing a fur coat; scythes down Jake with icy disdain: "It is obvious I am dealing with a sewer

You would be watching Return to Eden for a some time before the word sophisticated occurred to you. And before you realised your mouth was hanging open.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged.
We don't like cutting them but
sometimes this is necessary to get
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The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19.
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England

#### Pasternak rehabilitated A CENTURY OF THE SCOT-TISH PEOPLE, 1830-1950, by T. C. Smout (Collins, £15).

ground tape recordings.

Valantin Rasputin, the Siberian novelist who had led the ecological

campaign to close the factories which are polluting Lake Baikal,

and had also campaigned against

the project to reverse the flow of

in the Writers' Union into the

context of a wider and more

been dangerous to even suggest

on the question of Lake Baikal," he

said. "But today, such a plebiscite is a possibility and I believe a majority would vote to close the factories."

"The last 18 months has

changed the social situation drasti-cally," he said. "The Russian peo-

ple have not always been active

enough as citizens, but now there

is growing civic activity on ecology

on the whole. The press now supports us completely, which they

without the array of cultural bu-

events. Thanks to Yevtushenko,

there was an almost gleeful mood

There were two people missing from the press conference who in

there. The first was the secretary

of the Writers' Union, Vladimir

did not three years ago."

on the platform.

such a position.

the idea of a popular referendum

"Five years ago it would have

fundamental social change.

Siberian Rivers, put the new mood

By Martin Walker In Moscow

BORIS PASTERNAK, who was still to be heard only on underexpalled by the Soviet Writers' Union 30 years ago after the publication of Dr Zhivago in the West, is to be honoured with a museum and a literary commission which will seek to publish all his The news was announced last

week when nine of the Soviet Union's best known writers held a press conference to make this dramatic announcement and celebrate the shake up in Soviet letters that emerged in the course of the eighth congress of the Writers'

They recounted how some of the more daring and controversial po-ets and writers who had been deemed unsuitable by the authorities to attend the congress even as delegates had been elected by acclamation to the union's control

They also defined the new limits of censorship, following the demise of Glavit, the state's censorship board, after its 67-year reign. "Censorship exists in literature, designed to secure constitutional rights, to ban pornography, war propaganda, racialism and to pro-tect military secrets," Vitaly Korotich, an essayist from the Ukraine and one of the newly elected secretaries of the union.

explained.
"But the function of censorship stops there. It should not interfere in the literary process." he said. "And Dr Zhivago and the other works of Pasternak are hardly revolutionary and it is quite logi-cal to publish them."

Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who cumpaigned hardest for the posthumous honouring of Paster-nak, announced that the Writers' Union would henceforth "try to use our own power to defend books of our comrades and brothers against the bureaucracy."

He also announced that Bella

Akhmadulina, Bulat Okudjava, and Yuri Chernichenko had been elected to the union's praesidium. Akhamadulina had been a contributor to the banned magazine

HUGH KELSEY is one of the top

Scottish players and a celebrated bridge writer, and I like his two paperbacks, Test your Pairs Play, and Test Your Defensive Play (Gollancz,

£2.95 each). Here are two examples taken from the books. On the first,

NORTH Dummy Q 10 9 5 3

♦ AQ63 ♣ 84

NB NB NB

wrong. It was

子为现代。 第二章

leader. Her influence behind the scenes has played a major part. according to several writers, in ensuring the publication of hither-Metropol in 1979, and many of Okudjava's satirical ballads are to banned writers. Bridge By Rixi Markus®

easy against reasonable breaks. How-ever, the true expert tries to provide for every possible pitial. Since South's trumps have been shortened at trick one, he cannot afford to lose control of the trump suit. Hugh Kelsey therefore suggests, quite correctly, that the best way of susuring the slam contract is to duck a diamond at the second trick. No

EAST

985

matter what the defenders return, South can arrange to ruff a second spade in the closed hand before drawing the outstanding trumps, and he will therefore come to four hearts, three top trumps, two spade ruffs and three clubs to chalk up his excellent slam contract.
The East-West hands are as follows:

SOUTH **♠** AK78 ₩ 873 ★ J984 AJ 104 ♦ K752 ♣ AKQ82 The defensive problem which par-West North following, dealt by North at game all. West leads the ace of spades, rufled in the closed hand. How should South

♣ KQ8632 The average declarer would probably act quite quickly, for it all looks so SOUTH AQ843 **AUTHORS**  J 10 8. A75 .... invited submit Manuscripte all types (including Poems) for book publication. Reasonable terms, South' -West - North NB NB STOCKWELL DEPT. 52 2NT. NB wondereg(Esid. 1898) North leads the three of diamonds

ventures across the great divide into modern times, its very title disclaims that continuity many will look for. This is less a history than a highly guided excursion towards the contemporary, and the tour-guide's principle of selection is clearly indicated in his introduccomplex world of deprivation and social division: it aims to show what life was like for most

THE History of the Scottish People

1560-1830 (1969), Professor Smout's earlier book, has long been the most widely-read and

popular of general Scottish histories. But though his new book

Scottish people . . ."

— without, he immediately adds, much about the intellectuals, culture, politics or the emigres. As a consequence Smout has to

"dwell excessively upon the dark exterior of life," in a kind of litany of Caledonia's notorious urban squalor, "compounded of drink abuse, bad housing, low wages, long hours and sham education." Among the Scots, licking of wounds is second only to football

The press conference was unusual in that it featured only writers, as a national sport, ecstasy reaucrats who like to control such occurring when the two activities merge (as they often do) into one. So Smout's approach is certain to be popular there — all the more so for his easy style, quiet humour and mastery of detail. In both narrative power and range of "This last writers' congress gave us all the greatest satisfaction of any of the congresses we have example he gives us traditional "social history" (or "history with attended, " said the Kirghiz writer, Ginhiz Aitmatov. "It was a time of the politics left out") at its most acute discussion and sharp polem-

ic, with conservative manifesta-tions confronted by new ideas." This is no mere critical gesture: I was personally most impressed by his masterly dissipation of one special childhood mystery that had justice, perhaps, should have been always bothered me in the 1940s parents were sometimes overheard speaking with durkly satisfied op-Karpov, the first former inmate of probrium about "the Goths" of our Stalin's prison camps to rise to mining hinterland in a way which both intimated inquiry and myste-The second, according to the riously compounded drunkenness the lower orders and the collapse of writers' gossip, was Raisa Gorbachev, the wife of the Soviet loman civilisation.

At last I know what was meant: the extra-dour municipal pubs run on the so-called Gothenburg system to discourage consumption, by testotal licencees who "walked

against 3NT, and South's ten holds the trick. South continues with the jack of onds, which also holds and on which North follows with the two. What should South play at trick three? Kelsey's solution is obvious — but

only when it is pointed out. He suggests that South should switch to a club, playing for the declarer to hold a dummy and play a spade, but South can go up with the ace, cash the ace of clubs and exit with a diamond, making sure that he will eventually come to a second spade trick to defeat the

The full deal is as follows:

NORTH **↑** 72 **♥** 8762 ♦ J842 ♥ 9852 ♦ 10 ♣ J 1073 ♦ KQ732 ♣ 94 WEST SOUTH SOUTH AQ643 ♥ J5 ♦ J108 If South falls to switch to a club at

trick three, West can make the contract by means of a neat endplay. If for example, South exits with his third diamond, declarer wins with the ace, cashes three rounds of hearts and plays a club to dummy's queen. South must duck and West continues with a spade to the ten, which holds. He then exits by leying the jack of clubs to dummy's king, forcing South to win with the ace and concede the contract by giving West a second spade trick.

#### A view of Scotland

By Tom Nairn

behind the bar, sometimes stopping to serve a glass of liquor but devoting most of their time to scrutinising the patrons." The miners didn't like them.

Plenty of other readers will enjoy similar reactions. And yet it is the book's very success on that plane which cannot help posing serious questions, both about so-cial history and this particular verdict on modern Scottish society. Although it deals with the same subject-matter, "History from behas of course a different ideological nerve to it: vindication and redemption of the oppressed.

Smout's liberal judgment from above (which to his credit he doesn't try to conceal) is by con-trast a mixture of pity and final puzzlement about "how little one of the top two or three richest countries in the world did for its citizens until well on into the twentieth century.

This overview is farther clouded by persistent nagging about Marx-

well, like is hardly being compared to like in such judgments. As a them in the relevant sense: that was part of the Union harawyers have escaped censure, pre- overdose of "class"

sumably because the working-class was less directly exposed to their

However brilliant, popular "social history" thus re-poses national and political questions. But the answers to these might in turn suggest quite a different social

out points out how strong both religion and Edinburgh's Enlightenment were in forming the popular political culture which supported first Gladstonian Liberalism and then a Labourism that "had nothing whatever to do with participatory democracy, enthusiasm for socialism or hope for the future". But the dire results are less astonishing, if one reflects that the shared feature of these twin formative influences was anti-politicism: both pre-dated (and in Scotland, pre-empted) politics in the significant modern sense of democratic-national ini tiative "from below"

Some years after Professor Smout's chosen period, their final gift was what, until then, many would believe a contradiction in terms: the apolitical nationalism of

If this is the real dark interior pre-political paralysis, a democratic-national identity still in formaism: there are recurrent mentions tion (and hobbled by the Unionist of other lands where class har- rules) - then Smout's grim exterinony has accomplished more for their citizens than Scotland's dour

And indeed, we should note that confrontation of classes. his starting date of 1830 (always a But as he himself knows very watershed for historians) has a his starting date of 1830 (always a primarily political meaning: the stateless country without "citi-zens", Scotland could do nothing endure without a political revolu-The Victorian miseries por-

gain. Instead, the Scots suffered trayed here can be seen as a from their famous autonomous provincial part of that endurance institutions. Kirk, Education, and and its cost, as well as merely the the Law. Smout devotes chapters by-product of an insufficiently libto the first two of these; but the eral outlook or of an historical

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#### Chess By Leonard Barden

White mates in two moves, against any defence (by A. van der Ven). Though only a two-mover, this problem often defeats even strong solvers for

White K at QR2, Q at K2, R at KN7, B at KN5, N at KB3, Ps at QR3, QN2, QB4, Q4 and KR2. Black K at QB1, Q at KR6, R at KB1, B at QB2, N at KR4, Ps at QR3, QN2, QB3, K3, KB4 and KB2. What should white play.

1 RxPl RxR 2 QxP ch R-Q2 (K-N1 3 Q-K8 ch K-R2 4 QxR) 3 N-K51 BxN 4

CHEQUERS, the London coffee house which stages regular one-day and weekend tournaments, has estab-

Q-K8 ch forces perpetual check.

lished its own weekly magazine with up-to-the date games from the latest international events. Chequers by former British champion Bob Wade, and looks specially useful for strong players or improving juntors. Recent issues include all the games of the Kasparov-Miles match, reports on Brussels, Bugojno and the USSR championship, and analysis of current openings. Specimen copies are £1, a

Proprietor Aly Amin is fast establishing Chequers as a chess haunt in the tradition of the old Gambit cafe near Cannon Street which was demolis by property developers. You can visit the restaurant at 18 Chalk Farm Road, London NW1 (485 1696) for a meal, a friendly game, or for their next tourna-ments — all night on 18-19 July, oneday on 25 July. From the Chequers rating tourna-

ment, a pioneering event under new FIDE rules allowing games at one hour each for all moves to count for world

> Byron Jacobs (England) -M Kirszenberg (France) Cantre Counter (Chequers 1986)

2 PxP N-KB3 4 N-Q83 PxP 6 P-Q4 P-K3 8 B-Q3 N-Q83 1 P-K4 P-Q4 3 P-Q84 P-83 5 PxP NxP 7 N-B3 B-K2

#### A COUNTRY DIARY

the rhythmic droning of city trafhearing on their visits to garden flowers. From my bedroom I look down on huge, creamy umbels of giant hogweed, now at the height of perfection, and from time to time see willow and garden war- inbabitants of the jublers swoop on the insects that about, are faring well.

NORFOLK: Having gazed long can be completed and other trees in view, are carrying the densest burden of foliage that I have ever window, I am now home, cradled in a paradise of woodland greencry and bird song. Butterfiles drift defoliation by caterpillars at this

and bird song. Butterflies drift defoliation by caterpillars at this past my window, risking a snatch time, followed by regeneration as from spotted flycatchers nesting sappy "lammas" shoots develop. nearby on an ivy-covered wall. The Leafing was much delayed this purring of turtle doves as each day year and it remains to be seen the sun's warmth has dispelled the whether caterpillar plagues are dew and pervaded the scene with yet to make an impression. When the dreaminess of haytime and night comes, the scent of honeyhigh summer, has replaced for me suckle drifts into my room and is doubtless a lure for hawk moths fic, of which I am reminded only now stirring from the shadows as when bumble bees come within bats come forth and glow-worms twinkle in the grass of my garden. A few mosquitoes have been pay-ing me stealthy visits in the night, giving me assurance that not only they, but the myriad other small inhabitants of the jungle round settle on them. The predominant

17 GxKP B-Q4 19 BxB ch K-R1 21 BxR N-R5 23 P-Q6 N-Q6 25 RxN R-KB1 26 R-K8 B-K2 21 BxR N-R5 23 P-Q6 N-Q6 25 RxN R-KB1 27 P=Q Resigns.

CRISPA

25

1. An attractive girl from Eastern Europe? (8, 4)

13. A woman lines each one (5) 14. Over-mild holy man engaged in tea-preparation with minor (9) characters in a certain area (9)

24. Greek character having to get rid

of the core (7) electrical equipment (7) 26. Champions stop to ring as ar-

P-KN3 is a better defence in similar 14 QxN N-Q4 13 N-K5 NxN

To a standard and strong technique: the QR joins a king side attack via the third rank. Here it prepares a winning

sacrifice. 20 BxN QxB 22 QxP QxN 24 QxQ oh K-R2 26 P-R4 R-KN1 23 RxB oh QxR 25 Q-R5 ch K-N2 27 Q-K5 K-R2 28 P-KN3 R-QB5 29 Q-B6 R-N2 30 K-R2 R-B4 31 R-K5 Resigns

London's other Mecca for the casual or regular chess visitor is the King's Head pub, appositely situated in Moscow Road, Bayswater. Sets and boards are available at the bar, and you can often find GMs or IMs there discussing recent games or analysing openings. King's Head run successful teams in the London and Middlesex eagues and also organise a variety of

Their latest innovation was the first Halpern and Woolf London Open, sponsored by a leading accountancy firm and attracting over 300 competi-tors. Michael Stern, MP for Bristol North-West, is a director of H and W and was among those in last month's parliamentary debate who argued for better funding for British chess.

A feature of King's Head chess events is a variety of brilliancy and

best game prizes in all sections so that there is still something to go for if you are out of contention for a main award lust as in this week's first game defensive skills required against an isolated queen's pawn prove too much

N. A. P. McSheehy - S. A. Sliver Queen's Gambit Accepted (Halpern and Woolf London Open 1986)

1 P-Q4 P-Q4 3 P-K3 N-KB3 2 P-QB4 PxP 4 BxP P-K3 6 Q-O P-QR3 5 N-KB3 P-B4 7 P-QR3 P-QN4 B N-B3 QN-Q2 11 PxP B-K2 13 B-N5 QN-Q4 15 BxKN BxB? 12 R-K1 N-N3

Natural but fatal, permitting a deci sive sacrifice. Best is 15 . . . NxNI 16 NxBPI NxN

Or 16 . . . FIXN 17 QXKP and no NxN falls to 18 QxR ch.

Cricket Board. In the shifting pattern of the county championship, Essex stayed clear at the top, however, Hampshire losing twice in the week and none of the other challengers winning both their match-

trative power of the opening Tests.

but they never got on top of the bowling, either. But the team bats

Earlier in the week, the chair-

May, had received a letter of

a private dinner. A similar letter

vent to all the selectors and the

The Sunday League will have new sponsors from next season.

John Player, the tobacco firm, is to withdraw the sponsorship it began when the league first opened for business in 1969, since when it has epent £3 million. It is believed that new sponsors will be expected to put up £500,000 next season when changes in the format are also expected. At the moment Hampshire lead the league but they In Rugby Union, Naas Boths share 24 points with South African captain and fly had

For once Wimbledon's fortnight 2,000 points in first class rugby st was mostly rain free and the an extraordinary goalkicker. programme ran to form. Ivan Lendi versus Boris Becker was always everyone's choice for the men's final and it was perhaps

hour match 9-7. Becker, meanwhile, had some awkward moments against the unseeded Czech, Miroslav Mecir.

#### **Pugnacious Gatting** confirmed as captain

A PUGNACIOUS innings, rescuing England from the depths of in three sets. In the semi-fercricketing despair, has earned the Lendl luboured somewhat against the giant Yugoslav Sloboden new captain, Mike Gatting, an Zingjinovic in a battle of first extended tenure in the job, certainserving that went the full distance ly for the rest of the summer and with the possibility of leading the defence of the Ashes in Australia again. Becker came through in four sets against France's Henri Leconte, whose 23rd birthday it

Alan Dunn's DIARY

The third Test against the Indians at Edgbaston was the back-ground to Gatting's formal If the men's finalists were perhaps predictable, the women's missed the presence of Chris Lloyd. She had been given a glimpse of difficulties ahead in her appointment as captain for the series against the New Zealanders that will complete this summer's quarter final against the Czech, Helena Sukova, that went to three international cricket. It followed a superb 183 not out from him in England's first innings of 390 after sets. Sure enough, in the senithe team had made a ghastly start finals. Mrs Lloyd's 45th in 46 of two wickets down without a run on the board; Gooch and Athey going to outswingers from Kapil Dev. The new boy, Mark Benson, brought in at the last minute when Larkins was injured, held firm Grand Slam appearances since 1972, she went out to the Czen, Hana Mandlikova, 7-6, 7-5. The turning point in an always tense match came in the second set when Miss Mandlikova, trailing 24, suddenly reeled off 14 points to during the next sticky period with England's deposed captain, Gower. swing the match irrevocably. Gatting came in when Benson Meanwhile, the champion went at 61 and saw out the day on

Martina Navratilova, made ber 141 and on the second day ran out way pretty well untroubled to the of supporting partners as he final. In her quarter final Bettim Bunge was too nervous and fell 6 1, 6-3, while in the semi-final the sought a team total of 400 and a After the disappointments at the start, the rest of the team batted 16-year-old Argentine, Gabriel Sabatini, the youngest semi-finreasonably well against bowling that, with the exception of Kapil Dev, didn't quite capture the penelist this century, could only lean from the experience of defeat 62.

The Bislett Games in Oslo, home both won by India. There was no of world records in track athletic similar dismal opening from India, didn't quite live up to its reput tion last week, but there was one world record, appropriately from long — More and Binney hit 48 and 40 respectively batting at eight and nine — and the result minutes, 13.74 seconds, almost 46 was a rare tie on first innings at 390. Amarnath led the way with 79, followed by Azharuddin on 64. year. In the Dream Mile, Britain Steve Cram again won but could man of the Test selectors, Peter not beat the world record he set at the track last year. He finished in spology from Ian Botham over the 3 minutes 48.31 after being only Youths of a second outside the derogatory comments he had made about selectors during a speech at record puce at the three-quarter mark. Earlier in the week Sebastian Coe had been beston in the 800 metres in Stockholm. He matter is now expected to be dealt finished second to an American with by the Test and County Johnny Gray, who returned

1:42.85. Sprin's Severiune Ballesters will rest from golf this week content that his form for next week's Open championship Turnberry could hardly ettered. At the weekend he set a European record by winning the French Open, his fourth consecu-

Gary Lineker, who won the Golden Boot as the leading goalscorer in succer's World Cupin Mexico, was duly signed by Bara long from Everton last week £2.75 million. He has signed a six your contract that will make him financially secure for life. In Rugby Union, Naas Both

Northamptonshire and Notting- will play for Northampton next season. Botha scored more than

John Player League Table

	Hampshire (3)	7	6	١	6	9	
	Northamptonshire (5)	7	6	1	0	Q	
	Moutuambrotamme (o)	'n	6	3	0	O	
	Nottinghamshire (12)	9			ŏ	1	
	Kent (10)	8	5	2		ò	
	Yorkshire (6)	8	5	3	0	0	
		8	4	3	1	0	
	Essex (1)		7	ĭ	.0	1	
	Warwickshire (6)	9	4	*	×	0	
	Glamorgan (14)	В	4	4	0	v	
	Somerset (10)	7	4	3	Q	v	
	Destruction (10) manner	7	3	4	0	0	
	Derbyshire (4)	-		7	Ď	0	
l	Lancashire (14)	6	7			u.	į
	Leicestershire (6)	8	2323	54	v	ě	
٠.	Middlesex (12)	8	2	4	1	. 0	
ı	MINDIANA (15)	5	4	4.	0	.0	
	Sussex (2)	-			À	1	
•	Surrey (17)	8,	2		v	Ó	
ı.	Worcestershire (6)	8	2	. 0	v		
	Gloucestershire (6)	8	1	7		١.	
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	1986 position	• <u>II</u>	_		i		
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THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1986

TENNIS: David Irvine sees the finals at the 100th Wimbledon championships

## Becker's two-pronged assault fells Lendl

NOT content with being pressure on me to get my first congratulatory applause, came a return caught Lendl in two minds, were served in. He just stood inside the serve in. He just stood inside the base line and swung. I was made sure his name would be scrambling all the time. Serambling all the time. President, Richard von 75 minutes. By then Lendl's own Wimbledon's youngest title win-ner, Boris Becker, still only 18, made sure his name would be remembered for another unique achievement on Sunday by retaining the trophy in the All England Club's 100th championship sin-gles. In a collision of talents that never quite lived up to expectations, the West German confirmed his grass court supremacy by defeating the reigning World Champion Ivan Lendl 6-4, 6-3, 7-5

in a little over two hours.

The Czech simply found Becker too hot to handle, not only on serve - there were 14 aces against him but on the sheer weight and variety of the youngster's returns. Sometimes they dipped to his ankles. At others they floated tantalisingly out of reach. More often than not they went past as

though rocket-propelled.
"He just took a crack at my second serve every time," said a bewildered-looking Lendl. "I would have loved to do the same on his, but you can't the way he's scrving at the moment. It put so much second time exactly 60 years ago, Becker raised the cup towards the Royal Box. And then amid the

base line and swung. I was scrambling all the time.

Before the match, which was played on a real fast bowler's wicket, bald, dusty and hard, Lendl probably felt convinced he was ready to extend his kingdom.
But against Becker's relentless
onslaught, the grass court title
remained beyond him. Lendl will
no doubt return. He is eager to
prove himself just as Bjorn Borg was eager to conquer the US Open and John McEnroe the French. With Becker around, the chances are he will be just as unsuccessful as the Swede and the American.

"It seems like my court out there," said Becker. "I have a little bit more luck than my opponents. I don't know why, it just happens. But it feels good out there."

At the close, after a dance of joy and the presentation of the trophy by Jean Borotra, the French Musketeer who won the title for a

Martina home again as

Hana loses heart

of triumph.

It was Becker's first title at any level since he beat Lendl in Chicago three months ago. Apart from the West German, Lendi has lost to only one other player this year. Sunday's, though, was a crushing dismissal, Lendl confirmed that he gave his all and it simply was not enough. "Boris played a great match," he said.

The gauntlet was tossed down at the very first stroke - a Becker ace. Yet, within moments, he was having to fight hard to stave off break points. Lendl did lead in the fifth when the champion momentarily lost his composure, double-faulted and chopped a backhand volley into the net to allow Lendi the chance, which he took, to go 3-2 up with a brilliantly hit forehand struck from yards out to his right. But he was unable to defend his

lead. Immediately Lendl was in trouble on volleying errors and was broken when Becker reacted so swiftly on a return close to the net that Lendi volleyed the ball out of court.

The pattern rarely changed. There were few rallies; merely sudden violent blows from one end of the court to the other. Having second ace, ace, ace service winner. Lendt looked the worse for wear of

At 1-1 a baby began to cry surely not McEnroe junior? - and Lendl, apparently distracted, twice double-faulted. Having got away with that, he missed a breek-point chance at 2-2, following which Becker served his 12th ace of the match and his 100th of the tournsment. By then such statistical niceties were employing many minds in the Press area.

Again Becker finished the set the stronger. A vicious service shrouded in gunsmoke.

Weizsaecker, who had stayed on specially in Britain to see his nation's young here in his moment was below 50 whereas Becker's had risen to more then 70. Lendl's supporters were encoun

aged when he jumped to a 3-0 advantage in the third, Again his assets proved vulnerable. At 4-2 Becker broke with a backhand return and the emotional temperature rose as the crowd, quite rightly, sensed what was coming. Becker sensed it too, "Ivan started at 4-4 with two second-serve

aces and again, at 5-4 with two passing shots. In all he played seven points on which I couldn't do anthing. Then, at 0-40, I made a good guess at the net and made the

On the next he did the same. leaving only one set-point chance in the Czech's favour. Then I saw a little bit in Ivan's face that he did not know what to do any more to pass me," said Becker. "That helped me a lot. When I got to 5-5 it was a great feeling." It was also the end of Lendl's challenge. There was one dramatic moment

left. Serving for the title at 6-5, 0-30 — he had popped in a double fault and been passed by a forehand - Becker guessed correctly when Lendl swooped on a volley and hit another forehand down the line. That familiar Nijinsky leap saw the youngster hit the ground with a crash But the ball, instead of coming on to the racket, chught was intimudating stuff and the not and dropped "Suddenly and looked the worse for wear of the ball wasn't behind my ear, and I saw it falling in front of me," said Becker "I thought maybe I can get it." He did precisely that. At full stretch on the grass he hit the cheekiest cross-court winner to leave Lendi helpless. It was the kiss of death.

In fact Becker conceded only two sets in the fortnight. Triumph earned him £140,000 and made him the game's youngest dollar millionaire. He left the Centre Court whiffing of cordite and

#### Jordan has the doubles jinx on Navratilova

FOR the second successive year Kathy Jordan helped scupper Martina Navratilova's dream of becoming the first player since Billie-Jean King in 1973 to win three Wimbledon titles in the fortnight — when in the final of the mixed doubles on Sunday, she partnered by Ken Flach to a 8-3, 7-8 victory over the women's champion

Last year it was Jordan in conjunction with Elizabeth Smyle of Australia who thwarted Navratilova and Pam Shriver.

Navratilova and her partner had been firm favourites and, despite a disastrous first set in which Gunthardt allowed himself to be broken in the sixth game, had every chance to force the final to a third. Twice at 5-6 the eventual winners had two set points against

Three more followed in the tiebreak, with Jordan saving the last with a serve which Gunthardt netted. It was Flach, however, who killed off Navratilova's hopes by cutting out her volley for the winning stroke.

There was some consolation, however, in the women's doubles when Navratilova and Shriver beat Hans Mandlikova and Wendy Turnbull 6-1.6-3. Turnbull 6-1, 6-3...

MOTOR RACING: Maurice Hamilton at the French Grand Prix at Le Castellet

#### Mansell is just a point adrift

NIGEL MANSELL strengthened his challenge for the world cham-pionship at the Paul Ricard circuit in Le Castellet on Sunday when he won the French Grand Prix after yet another convincing display in nis Williams Honda, Mansell now lies one point behind Alain Prost, who finished second in his McLaron at the end of what was essentially a two-horse race once Ayrton Senna had crashed out of second place on the fourth lap of

the 80 lap race. Senna, who was uninjured, slid off with his Lotus on a patch of oil which almost caught Mansell and Prost as well. The Brazilian, who jumped to the top of the champion-ship table after winning in Detroit two weeks ago, now lies two points behind Mansell as the teams head for next Sunday's British Grand Prix at Brands Hatch.

In a race dictated by tactics, Mansell made two stops for tyres, losing the lead on each occasion to Prost, who chose to make just one stop. The world champion kept Mansell under pressure in the closing stages, but the Englishman

never looked like losing control. "I though I was going to spin off and hit the barrier when I came across the oil in the early laps," said Mansell. "Then I had another nasty moment near the end when someone cut me up badly - I won't say who, because it was a fellow countryman - and all the time ! thought Alain was conserving his tyres and was going to come at me. It was a close thing all the way."

Thanks to the caution exercises by the drivers, there was not the anticipated accident at the first corner, although later in the open-ing lap Derek Warwick became involved in a barging match with the Benetton of Teo Fabl. Warwick made a stop for a new nose-cone on his Brabham, and went on to take ninth place at the expense of Martin Brundle as the Tyrrell driver slowed with gearbox trou-

Brundle's team-mate Philippe Streiff had retired earlier when a fuel injection pipe broke and sprayed petrol over the Renault engine. Streiff pulled up near the pits, and the ensuing blaze allowed the organisers to display a disturbing degree of incompetence as first two fire trucks were driven the wrong way out of the pit lane, then one of the rescue vehicles aprayed foam over the pit entrance rather than the car.

Jonathan Palmer, believed to be the perpetrator of the indiscretion referred to by Mansell, made an excellent start, but his Zakspeed retired with engine trouble after, 46 laps. Johnny Dumfries went out before he had piloted his Lotus steadily in the middle of the pack and survived a potentially dises-trous clash of wheels while lapping

another car, Mansell rubbed in his domina-And in the men's doubles there was some belated choer for the strong Swedish contingent when Joakim Nystrom and Mats Wilander defeated the Americans Gary Donnelly and Peter Fleming 7-6, 6-3, 6-3, It was the first Swedish success in the many since

MICLATER Of N.S.K., KOSDETS.
FRENCH GP (Le Castelet, 305.04km) — 1, N.
Mainest (GB), Writama; 2, A. Prost (Fr), McLaren; 3, N., Piquet (Bra), Williams; 4, K. Rosberg (Fr), S. McLaren; 6, R. Amour (Ir), Ligit; 6, J. Leftte (Fr), Ligit; Other Striten), 9, D. Warvick, Brabham; 10, M. Brunde, Tyrrell, 14, J. Dumines, Lotus; 15, J. Palmer, Zahapeed, World Chempionathy stendings; 1, Prost 38pts; 2, Manaeti 38, 3 Senne 38; 4, Fiquet 23; 5, Rosberg 17; 5, Leftte 14

ACROSS

9. Making threats to split (7) 11. He's pressing a claim for a former

player (7)
12. Drink to celebrate, causing some irntation (7)

16. Sensitivity may be shown by these 19. Gradually reduce the light (5)

21. Writes -- not all find it especially difficult (7)
23. Caustic with Oriental pest? (7)

25. Making a scholar go round to take

. Name the new fuel (7) 2. Much will appear dull going around

et 50 (7) 3. Doesn't like water running over

4. Let in trendy group (5) 5. Scothe the head about state recession (7)

Slow admitting twitch is grating (7)
. Rate reduction (12) 10. The enrolment of soldiers meaning to share fairly (12)

17. Mixed drink for a fellow-traveller 18. Races held by those involved to

be most exciting (7) 19. Weathermen's concern for thug in

20. The lady will see reporters around midweek (7) 22. Fashion grips the young person WWIFMERODE
HALLSTONE ERODE
OTLRNAR LW
ACHIEVE DRLILAR
RW NIIIIA
RCHOCONTINGENT
VAAO
CGTAGON DRRIVES
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significant that Lendl had more trouble en route than the defending champion. In his fourth round match against Matt Anger, Lendl battled for 16 minutes and saved five set points that would have meant a fifth set before winning. The quarter final against Tim Mayotte went the full distance Lendi winning the last set of a 31/2

playing unbelievable. I'd at least SHE may have been born in hoped she'd be nervous in the Prague, she may now live in Texas but, to Martina Navratilova, Wimbledon is her spiritual home beginning. For all that Navratilova suspect-

struggled to find her serving

rhythm. Even she had come to

recognise that its lethal quality

ad gone. "And all that was wrong

was the toss, nothing else," she explained, "Once it came together,

I didn't feel anything could go wrong. When you feel that confi-dent, the rest of your game just

What gave her special pleasure,

she emphasised, was in coming through so convincingly in her first final against a serve-and-

volleyer. Her other six title con-frontations had been with

baseliners — five against Chris Lloyd, one against Andrea Jaeger — and she had also lived with the

nagging memory, that it was Mandlikova who had stripped her of the US title last September.

On grass, though, Navratilova has again proved she has no peer.

There never has been a woman's

champion quite like her.

and the Centre Court crowd her ed that it would not last. Nor did family. "I love this place," she it. At 5-2 Mandlikova's game fell declared on Saturday. And so she apart just as Navratilova's came should, having taken her total of together. From 3-5, 15-all down the champion found the mark with winning finals to seven on Saturday by beating Hana Mandlikova 7-6, 6-8 after possibly her most 22 consecutive first serves - an astonishing demonstration of accuracy - and from that moment a contest became a rout. For months Navratilova had

falls into place."

testing first-set examination. "I guesa it becomes harder each time because it means more," she said. "But the closer I got to the final the more I saw myself lifting the trophy. Even when I was 2-5 down I thought even if I don't win the first set, I can win the next

In the event, a recovery of those proportions was not necessary. Mandlikova, who was at the champion's throat at the start of the match, confirmed hor capricious nature and still brittle temperament yet again by losing her rhythm and, with it, 12 of the next

14 points.
Once the initiative had been torn from her, she was doomed. Centre Court may be home to Navratilova; to Mandlikova, who also lost in her only previous final appearance four years ago, it is

Heartbreak House It was a final in which Navratilova established a new record with her 34th singles victory at the championships, and equalled a more enduring record by taking her fifth successive singles title, a feat only the

men's Singles

Holder

Should Navratilova win again in 1987 — and who would wager against that? — she would not only share, with Helen Wills Moody, a haul of eight titles, but would haul of eight titles, but woul

the champion with Borg: "She is absolutely unbelievable. She must total collapse was hard to credit. having been worried at the start.

haul of eight titles, but would equal Bjorn Borg's unprecedented run of 41 victories.

Mandlikova, who appeared to bow to the inevitable once the tide changed, was moved to compare the state changed. Women's singles women's singles women's singles women's singles women's singles.

Women's singles women's singles women's singles women's singles women's singles.

M. Navratiovs (US) best H. MANDLIKOVA (CZ) 7-8, 6-3.

Women's singles women's singles women's singles.

Some and the following the second of the sec

Mer's Doubles
have the perfect game for grass.

Nevertheless the 24-year-old's total collapse was hard to credit.

Even Navratilova admitted to having been worried at the start.

"She was just blasting winners. All I could do was hang in. She was in the grass of falling over, getting up to make drop shots, clipping the lines. I wondered what else could go wrong. It was raining and she was worded to the perfect game for grass.

Men's Doubles Holders

H. P. Gunthardt (Switz) and Shrive (US) best S. Reine (US) 46, 78, 6-0.

Over-35 Men's Elngles: (Holder: S. R. Smith):

Over-35 Men's Elngles: (Holder: S. R. Smith):

Over-35 Men's Elngles: (Holder: S. R. Smith):

Over-35 Men's Doubles: (Holder: S. R. Smith):

J. NYSTROM and M. Will.ANDER (Swe) used Over-35 Men's Elngles: (Holder: S. R. Smith):

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J. NYSTROM and M. Will.ANDER (Swe) used Over-35 Men's Elngles: (Ho "She was just blasting winners. All Men's Doubles — Winners: J. Nystrom and I could do was hang in. She was M. Wender (Swa), 248,600 shered. Runners falling over getting up to make up 0. Donnelly and P. Fierweg (US) 224,250. failing over, getting up to make drop shots, clipping the lines. I wondered what else could go wrong. It was raining and she was

The final Wimbledon results

Mixed Doubles

Holders

P. McNamee (Aus) and M. Navratilova (US)
K. FLACH and K. JORDAN (US) beat H. P.
QUNTHARDT (Swiz) and M. NAVRATILOVA
(US) 6-3, 7-8.

MIXED DOUBLES — Winners: K. Fisch and K.
Jordan (US), \$25,200. Runners-up H. Gunthardt (Switz) and M. Navratilova, \$12,600.